

TRANSFORMATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS: POTENTIALS FOR OUR FUTURE

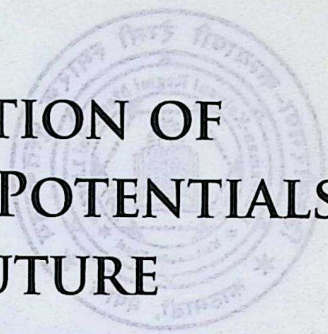
Dagmar Eigner
&
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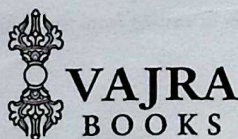
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DAGMAR EIGNER
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INTRODUCTION: TRANSFORMATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE ECOLOGY OF MIND

Jürgen Werner Kremer

The diverse contributions to this book explore various ways of transforming consciousness and point to potentials we as species may need for our future. Shamanic approaches are frequently viewed as premodern and thus remnants of historical periods. The implication is that they are fascinating mostly in terms of explaining our past evolutionary history, but have little relevance for our future. The continued survival of indigenous peoples and their cultural practices is easily neglected. Eastern traditions have received a more widespread reception in Euro-centered cultures, a reception that is increasingly characterized by a reductionism in practice and theory (e.g., mindfulness meditation and the focus on stress relief). When we disregard the significance of these ancient paradigms, we disregard possible avenues to shift our thinking and our cultural practices for the benefit of our future survival. Indigenous and Eastern epistemologies offer a challenge to the standard Western scientific paradigm or the “received view of science” (Polkinghorne, 1983).

Sacred unity

Gregory Bateson was a seminal thinker who struggled to develop an Epistemology (he capitalized the word to distinguish it from local epistemologies) or an ecology of mind that is more beneficial for the future of our species (1972, 1991). He saw many of our contemporary challenges and crises arising from pathologies of epistemologies, i.e., fundamental misconceptions in our ways of knowing. His alternative was the proposal of a “sacred unity of the biosphere” with the hope that such a scientific approach would result in fewer epistemological errors. Bateson also saw this sacred unity as aesthetic. The integration or integrity of various spheres or systems of life is crucial to his

thinking — when we unify we thereby sanctify (1979). Most importantly, he talks about the overemphasis on the conscious part of the self and its conscious purpose, a concern McGilchrist echoes, as we will see below.

Once we take the self out of its systemic context (environment, culture, etc.) we end up not with a simple distinction, but a separation or opposition or dissociative schismogenesis — progressive and addictive divisions and splits that hinder balance and well-being (Kremer, 1994). The body-mind dualism, the projection of conscious mental processes onto preconscious processes, the separation of intellect and emotions, etc. — these are all errors that today, as is all too obvious, are leading to problematic consequences. In all of this we have lost a sense of aesthetic unity and Bateson would say that we have to develop the possibility of an ecology of mind, an Epistemology that does not separate humans from contexts that are crucial. The experiential search for nondual states, whether in *butō* dancing, meditation, or shamanic ritual, points to the personal suffering and the social pathologies resulting from dualistic conceptualizations.

Bateson uses the term “totem” to refer to the intuition of indigenous peoples about their own systemic integration, whether with the local ecology or the realm of dreams and spirit journeying. Today we have the opportunity and challenge to integrate the wisdom of ancient practices with contemporary knowledge to develop an understanding of consciousness that reflects a sacred unity. Much of recent brain research hints at both the possibility as well as the necessity to accomplish this feat.

Hall of Mirrors

McGilchrist (2009) reviewed extant brain research and came to some very important conclusions about why we have two hemispheres. They serve very different functions: the *right hemisphere* provides sustained, open, broad alertness or vigilance for what might be, and it is concerned with patterns and making connections; the *left hemisphere*, in contrast, has a narrow, sharply focused attention to detail.

Research shows that the *right hemisphere* helps identify what is different from what we expect. It perceives things in context, understands metaphor, body language, implicit meanings, and facial expressions. The right hemisphere is concerned with individuals (not categories) and the embodied world, the living as opposed the mechanical. It looks at embodied beings as part of the lived world. It also deals with things that can never be fully grasped, such as spirituality.

By contrast, the *left hemisphere* concerns itself with what we already know and provides a simplified map of reality. Its goal is precision and it works to pin

things down and breaks them into parts in the process. The result is clarity and the capacity to manipulate things that can be known and isolated, things that are static. The knowledge of the left hemisphere is decontextualized and it uses denotative language; what it knows is explicit and general in nature, but ultimately lifeless. The body gets broken down into its constituent parts. The system the left hemisphere creates is closed and it has the seeming advantage of being able to aim for perfection.

The two hemispheres, therefore, offer two versions of the world that we combine all the time in various ways and give different weight to each depending on circumstance. For a broad understanding of a situation we rely more on knowledge from the right hemisphere, for specific technical tasks we rely more on the left. We have two hemispheres for a reason and we need them both.

Historically, humans started out with both hemispheres in a balance of mutual benefit. However, in more recent centuries the view of the left hemisphere began to dominate, and currently we primarily look at the world through that perspective. Our world is taking on the semblance of the left hemisphere: the technical is becoming all important, the virtual is emphasized over the real, bureaucracies keep expanding, there is no clear sense of a whole, and the big picture is fragmented. The “what” is much more important than the “how” as the left hemisphere usurps the functions of the right. We have riches of information, but do we have the wisdom to understand and integrate it?

The power of the left hemisphere is impressive. It creates a view of reality that is entirely self-consistent, because it is made from itself. Everything that does not fit gets discarded. While the left hemisphere is very vocal on its own behalf, the right hemisphere cannot construct arguments. As a result we seem to be trapped in a hall of mirrors: the stronger the view of the left hemisphere, the more it prevents us from seeing ways out of our dilemmas. “We just get reflected back into more of what we know about what we know about what we know” (McGilchrist, 2011).

McGilchrist reminds us of Einstein’s statement that the intuitive mind is a sacred gift and the rational mind its faithful servant. He critically adds: “We honor the servant but have forgotten the gift” (2011). This metaphor informs McGilchrist’s title, *The Master and His Emissary* (2009). The emissary, the left hemisphere, as his argument goes, has usurped the role of the master, which is the right hemisphere, the holder of the big picture, the integrator. He asserts the importance of reason and good language while alerting us to the dangers of a one-dimensional rationality.

Dörner (2003) conducted research where participants had to improve on a complex system, a specific ecological or social environment. Those who used their intuitive capacities to work with complexity generally did better than

those who did not. The force of rationality alone inevitably seemed to crash the system that participants intended to improve. Thus, understanding the scientific evidence for global warming is one thing, what to do about it quite another.

The chapters of this book explore various ways to exit the hall of mirrors McGilchrist describes, both in practice and epistemology. Each in its own way points to possible exit strategies and ways to reframe our understanding of consciousness as part of a sacred unit. Each is a contribution to our understanding of the importance of systemic integration. In the search for sacred unity or an ecology of mind a number of problems and obstacles can be identified, e.g., the emphasis on knowledge vs. knowing, or the stress on the importance of certain realities over other realities, say the waking state over the dreaming state. Each chapter, in its own way, points to ways to make the right hemisphere the master again, and to let the emissary, the left hemisphere, be a powerful emissary on behalf of the master. Another obstacle to developing a more appropriate epistemology for our understanding is the consciousness/content fallacy.

Trees and spirits are equally real

Rock and Krippner (2011) discuss the consciousness/content fallacy as the confusion between one's awareness of subjective experience and the contents of the awareness, between process and content. They contend that definitions of "shamanic states of consciousness" "do not pertain to consciousness, but rather to the objects of consciousness; that is, content of which a privileged observer may be consciously aware (e.g., visual mental imagery, body image, volitional control, affect)" (p. 85). Defining phenomenal properties as absolutely anything that is in the total momentary experiencing of a person, they suggest that theories of shamanic states of consciousness should be "reformulated so that the phenomenon being explained as alterations in phenomenal properties rather than alterations in consciousness" (p. 87). Meditative practices similarly effect alterations in phenomenal properties. This means, in terms of shamanic practice, that "patterns of phenomenal properties can become destabilized by drumming, dancing, sleep deprivation, or any number of other conditions" (p. 89). New patterns of phenomenal properties may emerge that are more beneficial for an individual. During every day we attend to different patterns of phenomenal properties, whether the worlds of dreaming, waking life, dancing,entheogens, yoga, or artistic imagination. Our shifts in attention give us entry into different realities, a model analogous to the Tibetan model of bardos.

Rock and Krippner's resolution of the consciousness/content fallacy arrives without much fanfare as a seemingly esoteric philosophical argument.

Yet, the implications of this reframe are significant and expand the scope of Western inquiry in positive ways.

The following is an example of attentional shifts and the ensuing patterns of phenomenal properties. It is worth quoting at length. The Yukaghir elder Spiridon is not called a shaman, but he is a hunter who lives in a shamanic universe, clearly connected with one of the old Siberian traditions. The story is stunning in its shift in patterns of phenomenal properties and in the results different attentions yield. Yura is Spiridon's son and they, including the anthropologist Rane Willerslev, are out in the Siberian taiga in the depths of winter with temperatures dropping to below 70 degrees Fahrenheit. Yura urges Rane to get the move on since the Big One is near ("Big One" is a euphemism used for moose to avoid detection of the hunt by the hunted):

"What on earth were you talking about?" I ask Yura.

Yura thinks for a moment. "How should I explain it to you?" Then he reaches down into Spiridon's [the shamanic hunter's; JWK] sleeping bag and pulls out a little wooden figurine. It has the shape of a crudely carved human body, with lines marking eyes, nose, and mouth. Something resembling moose antlers have [sic] been carved on top of the head.

"This is my father's ayibii, or what the Russians call a soul (Russian, *dusha*)," Yura explains.

"During the night, it goes to the owner of the River Omulevka. She lives in a house with a big stall. All the animals live there – when they're not running round in the forest, that is. She loves Dad, and they have ..." Yura stops for a moment and laughs.

"What?" I ask impatiently.

"Well, they have sex with each other."

"But why do they do that?" I am quite dumbfounded.

"Because then the Big One comes running all by herself." (Willerslev, 2012, pp. 106-107)

After hiking for four hours through the snow the old shamanic hunter steps into action.

Spiridon points to a track in the snow. He does not say anything but signals that we are to stand still. He himself continues out into a clearing some few yards farther forward. He waddles back and forth on his skis, and his body has taken a new shape. He no longer appears like an ordinary man. The fur jacket worn with its hair turned outwards, the fur hood with tassels of moose ears sewn on, and the fur-covered

skis all make his movements look rather like those of a moose. And yet his human nose, eyes, and mouth can be glimpsed under his hood. In his hands he holds a loaded rifle.

Suddenly a cow moose steps out of the brush, along with her lean, long-legged calf. At first the two animals stand still, while the mother lifts her enormous head with its long, pointed beard up and down in evident confusion about what kind of being is approaching. But as Spiridon gets closer, she is seized by his movements, sets her mistrust aside, and runs straight toward him, with the calf bounding after her. In the same instant, Spiridon lifts his rifle and kills both of them with a volley of four shots.

I stand gaping as I watch the whole scene, which seems completely crazy. Yura nudges me in the side: "That's what I said, the Big One comes all by herself." (Willerslev, 2012, pp. 107-108)

As attention shifts the objects of consciousness shift, from sex with the female spirit keeper of the animals, to mundane activities of preparation, to the hunter shifting attention, to the phenomenal properties of the world of the two moose, to their killing. While this story is truly extraordinary, if we look at it from the perspective of attentional shifts resulting in different patterns of phenomenal properties, then we normalize the experience and have the opportunity to remember it as human potential. Indeed, it challenges us to question our notions of reality, as Willerslev does in analogous language:

We cannot, therefore, simply relegate dream content and meanings to the interiority of the unconscious mind. ... Whether one is awake or asleep, a person's encounters are always those of being-in-the-world and never an "empty reality". ... The awareness of the dreaming self is as phenomenally real as when the person is awake. (Willerslev, 2007, p. 178)

Willerslev concludes (based on a different argument) that the "conventional discrimination between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural,' the 'real' and the 'culturally constructed,' cannot easily be maintained. We will no longer be able to hold that conceptions of animal, trees, and mountains are more real than those of spiritual beings" (Willerslev, 2007, p. 180). Indeed, with Rock and Krippner's resolution of the consciousness/content fallacy the worlds of dreams, shamanic visions, and other experiences can find their place among the spectrum of realities. "Any product of human imagination represents a form of reality" (Krippner, 2004, p. 210). Our shifts in attention lead to different

patterns of phenomenal properties or realities – and who is to say which one is more or less real. The realities of shamans are subtly elevated to the status they always had in their indigenous societies, a status that has often been pathologized or dismissed in Western science. This paradigmatic thinking can similarly be applied to meditative states facilitated in Eastern traditions.

Transformations of Consciousness

Each author in this anthology describes or implies possible exit strategies out of the hall of mirrors, each validate the importance of ancient traditions today, and the need for a more appropriate epistemology to describe consciousness processes.

My own contribution (“Multi-sense perspectives on shamanic rituals”) discusses the systemic integration, the sacred unity that we can identify in the multisense approach used in shamanic ceremonies. The Diné (Navajo) chantway ceremonies reflect an embeddedness of humans in their landscape and the origin story of each ceremony. The mountains hold stories and the evocation of balance or *hózhó*, i.e., systemic integration, is held in each part of the proceedings — the sandpaintings, the chants, the purifications, the dramatic performances, etc.

In his chapter “The development of symbolization from the pre-verbal to the trans-verbal: An evolving consciousness”, Michael DelMonte argues for the existence of a dimension of transverbal symbolization with the qualities of timelessness, infinity, and ongoing relevance. We thus have four domains or qualities in the expression of symbolism: the subverbal (instinctual), the verbal (linguistic metaphor), the paraverbal (art, music), and, finally, the transverbal (spiritual or mystical). Symbolization builds the bridges between our subjective reality and the demands of external object-relations. DelMonte brings the realms of the ineffable beyond self-evident reality into the theory of symbolization.

Charles T. Tart’s seminal “Proposal for the creation of state-specific sciences” was originally published in 1972. It continues to be of significance in its challenge to the “received view of science” (Polkinghorne) and is republished here in an updated and expanded version. Given that the consciousness of the individual scientist is his or her most important instrument, Tart develops the notion of state-specific sciences, using the essential scientific methods to explore consciousness. States of consciousness are seen as qualitatively distinct patterns of mental functioning. The projection of the standard scientific paradigm on to a state of consciousness that is distinct (such as unitive meditative experience) can easily result in a profound lack of understanding or serious misunderstanding. The basics of the scientific enterprise (observation,

logical theory construction, testing, and full communication) can be applied to scientific endeavors outside the "normal" state of consciousness. Tart stresses the primary importance of observation. He uses the examples of lucid dreaming and mathematics to illustrate his proposal, quoting Ken Wilber: "Mathematical knowledge is public knowledge to all equally trained mathematicians; just so, contemplative knowledge is public knowledge to all equally trained contemplatives." Tart's proposal was made over forty years ago, yet the paradigmatic thinking in consciousness research has not changed in dramatic ways. While contributions to developing alternate ways of researching consciousness have continued (in publications and conferences, such as the annual Congress for Qualitative Research sponsored by Denzin and others), they still are a minority view within the field of consciousness research. The inspiration for an expanded paradigm provided by Tart may be more urgent today than it ever was.

The contributions by Dagmar Eigner and Stanley Krippner are examples of careful observation and ethnographic study. In "The aesthetics of healing: Ritual performance of Tamang shamans in Central Nepal", Eigner explores the interconnection between individual story and cultural patterns in Nepalese shamanic rituals. The shamanic performances have essential aesthetic qualities which help to evoke basic cultural patterns, connect them with the patients' emotions, and help with healing resolution through the power of traditional plots. Eigner asserts the validity of diagnostic systems other than Western by noting the differences in the complex networks of causation, meaning, and expression which ultimately prevent us from simply translating one symptom or syndrome into another culture's diagnostic language. Each diagnosis represents a particular cultural praxis with concomitant ways to resolve the issue at hand. The chapter is rich in its descriptions of Tamang possession ritual and contains extensive valuable verbatim quotes from the proceedings. Here the transformations of consciousness occur in the context of offerings in exchange for the patient's life that make the illness causing spirit depart; the spirit has to promise never to return to the same patient again as it is dismissed. Individual problems and the plots of the ritual representing the dynamics of the culture are matched to all patients to allow for the resolution of suffering resulting from psychosocial conflicts.

Stanley Krippner explores "Mediumistic surgery" in Brazil". He discusses in detail his own observations and experiences with 'mediumistic surgeons', a popular form of complementary medicine. Krippner distinguishes between the uncontrolled dissociation of dissociative identity disorder (DID) and the controlled and positive use of dissociative states by healers like Edson Cavalcante de Queiroz when his self-identity shifts to that of Dr. Fritz. As he

explores several healing practitioners, Krippner notes with regret the dearth of medical research on the Dr. Fritz and related phenomena. His discussion includes the critical comments made by the magician James Randi as well as his own critical observation that what was supposed to be "blood, lymph, and ectoplasm" was shown in a laboratory analysis not to be blood, but possibly vegetable dye. Krippner highlights the impact symbolic information may have on the clients' belief systems, which in turn may impact their psychoendocrinoneuroimmunological system; sleight of hand can then be seen as part of the modification of the clients' belief systems and psychoneurology. The case observations and discussion provided in this chapter illustrate not only the complexities of the potentials for consciousness transformation, but also how seemingly anomalous events may be efficacious as a complex interaction of cultural beliefs, placebo effects, dramatic interventions, and psychoneurological processes.

Daniel A. Kister's "Shifting modes of consciousness in the interactional dynamics of Korean shaman rites" describes the enactment of a shamanic worldview on the island of Jeju. The complex interactions between shaman and the participants' consciousness result in the experience of a holistic mental, physical, and inter-relational reality in which the community moves toward the gods in hopes of reciprocation. On some of these occasions the shaman may become a medium for a deceased ancestor and bring him/her into the conversation. Kister discusses a number of illustrative examples (rituals performed under different circumstances for different reasons) and understands them in terms of the ordinary dimensions of conscious activity — belief, intention, anxiety, interrelationship, creativity, and play — of shaman, gods and spirits, and believing participants. "Shifts in consciousness are integrally bound up with physical activity as a community's world of belief comes to life in a holistic physical, mental, interactional event."

Takako Yamada discusses the "Continuity of shamanism among the Ladakhi and the Sakha". Her fieldwork documents the persistence of shamanic traditions in these two cultures because of changes in practice and conceptualization in response to contemporary challenges. E.g., Ladakhi shamanism has not weakened with recent cultural changes, but has incorporated tourism into its practice, with the result that it changed without being significantly different. Here diagnostic conceptualizations have become more transcultural to include, for example, Hindustani customs. Healers now work across borders. The three case examples from the Sakha culture exemplify the struggle with the continuance of the shamanic tradition and changes in etiological understanding and healing techniques. Sakha practitioners may diagnose a lack of bioenergy, where previously the presence of evil spirits was

seen as causal. Sakha shamanism plays a significant role in reconstructing cultural identity. Yamada notes the hybridity resulting from the blending of local and global techniques and understandings. Clearly, shamans show an ability to respond to changing circumstances.

Gerald Virtbauer uses a phenomenological approach in his "Experiencing *sati*: A phenomenological survey of mindfulness in Pāli psychology". In the field of psychology, phenomenology has been a persistent minority voice, with Amedeo Giorgi and others continuing the development of this approach in the U.S. at Duesenberry University, Saybrook University, The University of West Georgia, and elsewhere. Virtbauer distinguishes the Western concept of mindfulness from *sati* in Buddhist psychology, emphasizing the importance of indigenous Indian psychology. His hope is to revive an introspective psychology in the West, something that has practically entirely vanished from mainstream textbooks (with William James commonly getting no more than a short mention or a brief discussion). Consistent with Tart's and other approaches, Virtbauer suggests that "mindfulness may successfully bridge first- and third-person approaches to research on experience and behavior".

Michael Weiss discusses "Dancing into non-consciousness — the ritual transmission of Japanese Butō dance of Ohno Yoshito". Significantly, this chapter combines the somatic and the mind, the transformation from subjective bodymind to universal bodymind. *Mushin* is the word for non-consciousness, a perception beyond dualisms, which Yoshito works to facilitate in his dancers. "The butō dance is a permanent question", a quest for subjective meaning, then insight moving toward egolessness and the experience of sameness and mutual conditionality of all phenomena, and, finally, the realization of *mushin* or non-consciousness. "The 'empty mind' of a butō dancer shall be free from any (egocentric) form to find a stay (the dancing form in the present) that is not-staying (the dancing formlessness through egolessness, that is a divestment from an egocentric mind)." The chapter carefully lays out the conceptual field of understanding *mushin*, while direct quotes exemplify the teaching and the experience of butō dancing. The profound experience of bodymind facilitated in the butō dancer is one of the avenues out of the hall of mirrors created by the dominance of left brain processes.

Renaud van Quekelberghe challenges the mainstream scientific paradigm and identifies numerous misunderstandings of ancient traditions in his "Shamanism: A magical or deep ecological healing consciousness?" He questions whether the deep ecological holographic rationality of shamanic worldviews is less rational than the received Western scientific paradigm. Indeed, he affirms traditional shamanic knowledge as science, or, as I would say, indigenous science (a term introduced by Apela Colorado, 1996). Van

Quekberghe's assertions are consistent with the literature produced by native intellectuals and other Western scholars (see Peat, 2005; Kremer, 1996, 1997; and others). Van Quekelberghe refuses the notion that shamanic and meditative healing is magical by reframing it within an "integral, multimodal, holistic and non-linear approach".

Charles Tart proposed to expand our notions of science to a spectrum of state specific sciences, Renaud van Quekleberge highlights the science inherent in ancient traditions and concepts, and Naran Bilik, in the concluding chapter of the book, stresses the importance of "everyone-shaman" when discussing "Shamanism in Ancient China: Legendary implications for the future". According to the Chinese classics everyone was a kind of shaman "who could go to Heaven wherever and whenever he or she wanted". The shaman embodies a union between material appearance, communicative flow, and spiritual essence. Communication is established through performance that maintains a healthy mutually reproducing relationship. Bilik sees the reconnection of Earth and Heaven not merely as a metaphor, but "also a new attempt for developing harmony among citizens and symbiosis of ethnic groups". The article explores Chinese (and Western) history from the perspective of changes in reciprocal relationship and suggests that a transformation of consciousness opening the passage between Earth and Heaven may result in contemporary versions of reciprocity and harmony.

The rich contributions to this volume explore epistemological and practical issues of engaging in an epistemology of mind, a non-dual understanding of and engagement with the world. Charles Tart and Renaud van Quekelberghe in this volume speak to the conceptual constraints created by the narrow lens of the received view of science; Iain McGilchrist has amassed the research evidence showing how the narrowing of perspective and practice is reflected in the narrowing of our brain processes; the remainder of the chapters in this book exemplify holistic epistemologies in action and ways to overcome the splits enforced by one-dimensional constraints in worldview, person, and cultural practices. Transformations of consciousness are needed not only to serve individual needs, but also to serve our general need to know, understand, and make meaning, as well as socio-cultural practices that are holistic, integrative, and balancing.

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MULTI-SENSE PERSPECTIVES ON SHAMANIC RITUALS

Jürgen Werner Kremer

Introduction

Neo-shamanic endeavors in popular venues of (post)modern societies, especially in New Age venues, have focused to a considerable extent on the efficacy of sonic driving, beginning with Harner (1980). Goodman (1988, 2003) similarly used the rattle, in combination with trance postures she identified. Research clearly supports the power of sonic driving as means to change states of consciousness (Neher, 1961; Maxfield, 1994). Less attention is generally given to other dimensions that are part of indigenous shamanic rituals and integral to changes of the experiential qualities of shamans or their participants; these dimensions are important carriers of cultural meaning and essential to the cultural practice of shamanism. While neoshamanic rituals may be inspired by traditional rituals or incorporate aspects of it or use some traditional ritual implements, they rarely seem to include the full spectrum and historico-cultural depth of the ritual dimensions present in indigenous settings. This "slimming" of ritual proceedings may affect the induction of altered states less than the evocation and transmission of indigenous knowledge systems and the quality of the self or personality process. It is a reflection of the modernist ways of being in the world and prevents the development of critical cultural alternatives based in qualitatively different paradigms. Indigenous interpretations of reality and ethics, the richness of their narrative universe, is hardly conveyed in a setting where sonic driving by means of a drum or rattle is the main focus. The affirmation of sonic driving as mind-altering process has been instrumental in the rise of neoshamanism and a beneficial process for many. Yet, it leads us to question whether this is merely a bandaid making the impact of problematic Western ways and self constructions more palatable, instead of supporting a critical praxis challenging fundamental assumptions of Western societies and

exemplifying, at least experimentally, cultural alternatives. The intent of this exploration of the holism of shamanic rituals is not to bemoan retro-romantically the loss of attention to this multi-dimensionality in Western society, but rather to encourage their re-integration as carriers of profound cultural meanings in shamanic rituals. It is noteworthy that with the rise of neoshamanism the importance of the participants' or even patient's experience has increased in relation to the importance of the role of the shaman (now often workshop leader); personal growth and self exploration are now common goals. In many settings the shaman as expert healer is no longer of the same critical importance. From an indigenous perspective this shift has at times been criticized as foolish, superficial, or even dangerous; such democratic self empowerment commonly lacks the cultural depths indigenous ceremonies are rooted in.

Winkelman (2000, p. xii) makes an elaborate and persuasive case that "shamanic practices induce extraordinary experiences and healing by producing integrative relationships among brain systems and psychocultural beliefs". While his argument has been read as a reductionistic approach to understanding shamanic ritual, I would emphasize the multidimensionality and multiple causality his interpretations allow for; they can easily accommodate a universe of perceived spirits, of cultural stories and metaphors, for example. Paying attention to the multi-dimensionality and multi-sense aspects of shamanic rituals allows us to understand the integration of implicit and unconscious forces; of cultural, personal, and repressed memories; as well as of nonverbal and intuitive knowledge into a rich understanding of the self in its cultural context. The multidimensional aspects of shamanic rituals are the carriers of cultural (archetypal or mythic or spiritual) as well as personally significant meaning structures.

My analysis proceeds from the following basic assumptions, which will be discussed further below:

- The focus on a singular agent of changes in consciousness (sonic driving) is a reflection of the normative dissociation of (post)modern individuals (Kremer, 2012a & b). While this etic understanding reflects the scientific approach of the Western mind, it nonetheless describes an essential ingredient in shamanic rituals.
- In indigenous settings the rich multi-dimensionality of sense and other experiences carry cultural meaning that is historically grounded and continually renewed through ritual action and storytelling; they are a reflection of a qualitatively different understanding of self and personality. This opens the door to an emic understanding, the recovery of indigenous

mind (Kremer, 1997a & b, 2004), and an understanding of shamanic ritual within a participatory framework (Ferrer, 2002).

- One of the ways our contemporary challenges and crises can be resolved is to recover the dissociated dimensions, to remember their meaning, and to imbue them with meaning that is pertinent to our contemporary situation.
- Diné (Navajo) chantways (Spencer, 1957) represent an exemplar of such multi-dimensional or multi-sense understanding of shamanic rituals. This perspective will additionally be applied to Sámi and other rituals.

Understanding Ritual Cross-Culturally

Trances or hypnotic-like procedures (Krippner, 1993) or so-called “alterations in consciousness” (ASC, altered state of consciousness) are not only sanctioned as part of healing procedures but are also deliberately fostered by virtually all indigenous groups. The indigenous terms for “going in trance” reveal the cultural context and construction of experiences that in Western Sciences are abstracted into “trance” or “ASC”. For example, the Old Norse talked about *vardlokkur* (spirit calling), *galdr* (magical song, as in nightingale), and *seiður* (the seething); these practices are particularly associated with women (see Kremer, 1994). In Nepal, shamanic practitioners talk about “the shaking”. In one of the languages of the Arctic Saami peoples, the drum (*govadas*) figures predominantly in their terminology of alterations of consciousness; the word *noaidi* for shaman has its etymology in the word for seeing (visionary seeing); *noaidi oaidna govadasa vehkiin* means “a seer sees (visions) with the help of an instrument (drum) which develops pictures”. The Daur people of Mongolia have different terminologies for possession and journeying trance, while the Tuvans refer to “the taming of the hourse” (*adymny oredip bariear*) when awakening the drum used for trances. The Evenki people’s term *jajan* for shaman refers to singing to the fire for good luck. The Samoyed *sâmp?o?* means “to do magic”, with *sampa* meaning “to guide the shadow soul of the deceased with songs accompanied by the magic drum into the underworld”. The Maya glyphs *WAY* and *AJAW* refer to “transformation”. The Hopi *povosqa* translates as “one who does seeing”, parallel to some of the Saami terminology. Among the Diné (Navajo) we find *ndilnihii* (hand trembling) and *deest’ii* (star gazing). These terms are a part of a specific cultural self understanding. Bourguignon and Evascu (1977) read ethnographic descriptions of 488 different societies, finding that 89% were characterized by socially approved “alterations of consciousness” (see also Bourguignon, 1973), or if you will, “changed patterns of phenomenal properties” (Krippner & Rock, 2011). The

use of different English terms throughout this paper is an attempt to prevent the reification of such appellations as "altered states of consciousness."¹

The ubiquitous nature of hypnotic-like procedures in native healing also demonstrates the ways in which human capacities -- such as the capability to strive toward a goal and the ability to imagine a suggested experience -- can be channeled and shaped, albeit differentially, by social interactions. Concepts of sickness and of healing can be socially constructed and modeled in a number of ways. The models found in indigenous cultures frequently identify such etiological factors in sickness as "soul loss" and "spirit possession," each of which are diagnosed (at least in part) by observable changes in the patient's behavior, mentation, or mood (Frank & Frank, 1991).

For example, there is no Western equivalent for *wagamama*, a Japanese emotional disorder characterized by childish behavior, emotional outbursts, apathy, and negativity. Nor is there a counterpart to *kami*, a condition common in some Japanese communities that is thought to be caused by spirit possession. *Susto* is a malaise common in Peru and several other parts of Latin America and thought to be caused by a shock or fright, often connected with breaking a spiritual taboo. It can lead to dire consequences such as the "loss," "injury," or "wounding" of one's "soul," but there is no equivalent concept in Western psychotherapy manuals. The Diné (Navajo) *ahade idize be* refers to dissociative outbursts of violent or aggressive behavior (at times with persecutory ideation), similar to the Malay *amok*. Ainu *imu* refers to hypersuggestibility, a dramatic startle response, and dissociative behavior.

It is only in recent decades that cross-cultural studies of native healing have begun to take the importance of understanding indigenous models of sickness and their treatment seriously, perhaps because of the continuing prevalence of behavioral, psychoanalytic, and allopathic medical models. None of these has been overly sympathetic to the explanations offered by indigenous practitioners or to the proposition that Western knowledge is only one of several viable representations of nature (Gergen, 1985; Feyerabend, 1984). Kleinman (1980) commented,

The habitual (and frequently unproductive) way researchers try to make sense of healing, especially indigenous healing, is by speculating about psychological and physiological mechanisms of therapeutic action, which then are applied to case material in truly Procrustean fashion that fits the particular instance to putative universal principles. The latter are primarily derived from the concepts of biomedicine and

1. My thanks to Dagmar Eigner, Michael Grofe, Diana Riboli, and David Somfai Kara for some of the information in this paragraph.

individual psychology. ... By reducing healing to the language of biology, the human aspects (i.e., psychosocial and cultural significance) are removed, leaving behind something that can be expressed in biomedical terms, but that can hardly be called healing. Even reducing healing to the language of behavior...leaves out the language of experience, which...is a major aspect of healing. (pp. 363-364)

Similarly, Faris (1990), in his discussion of the Diné (Navajo) Nightway criticized attempts to fit indigenous beliefs and practices "into some variety of universal schema – reducing its own rich logic to but variation and fodder for a truth derived from Western arrogances – even if their motivations are to elevate it" (p. 12). While we can clearly identify similarities (see Bourguignon & Evascu, 1977) or groupings in hypnotic-like practices, the importance of their local construction and emic interpretations is significant for the affirmation and continuance of indigenous knowledge expressed in ritual shamanic practices.

Most illnesses in a society are socially constructed, at least in part, and alleged alterations of consciousness (or changed patterns of phenomenal properties) also reflect social construction. Native models of healing generally assume that practitioners, to be effective, must shift their attention (e.g., "journeying to the upper world," "traveling to the lower world," "incorporating spirit guides," "conversing with power animals," "retrieving lost souls").

Historical Changes in Self Construction

In looking at both practitioners and patients we have to take into account historical changes in the construction of self; indigenous and (post)modern understandings of self or individuality or personality are notably different. The historical changes in self understanding and narration parallel changes in the importance accorded to different senses as well as to trance experience. Indigenous self understandings are grounded in a rich world of multi-sense connections and fluidity in the sense of self ranging from patterns of phenomenal properties of the everyday to imaginal or spiritual realms. The modern self has largely abstracted and dissociated itself from the richness of multi-sense experiences and experiences itself predominantly in a comparatively narrow band of phenomenal properties identified with consensual, everyday reality. It appears that postmodern selves may well be engaged in a search of the parts that are common to indigenous cultural experience.

"Who am I? And who are you?" Responses to these questions have varied across the ages, not just as far as content is concerned, but also as regards the *process*, by which individuals have arrived at their answers, the *qualities and*

dimensions of self inquiry. Cultural self construction also, inevitably, impacts the relative importance of different sense (olfaction, touch, etc.) and experiential dimensions (emotional, imaginal, etc.). The ancient Hebrew self was committed to partnership with a particular God and the lines between the individual and Yahweh and the tribe are not always clear. The selves of the protagonists in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* are not experiencing inner conflicts in the way modern individuals do, and neither are their selves firmly boundaried. Detienne (1996, p. 135) discusses *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, and how "in the wake of the magi and ecstatic individuals, the philosophers claimed the ability to attain and reveal a truth that was at once the 'homologue and the antithesis' of religious truth," a reflection of the emergence of a new sense of self as "mythical thought shifted to rational thought." Cushman has argued that "the masterful, bounded self of today, with few allegiances and many subjective 'inner' feelings, is a relatively new player on the historical stage" (1995, p. 357). The boundaries created by the self can also be understood as normative dissociation from aspects of life that indigenous people are naturally connected to as part of their particular self process.

The quality of an Indigenous sense of self can be described as an embeddedness in place and community. This sense of participation or embeddedness in the surrounding world implies a different sense of agency or intention or will than the sense of the masterful self prevailing in individualistic cultures.

Dorothy Lee, in 1950, used linguistic analyses to explore notions of self in Wintu culture. "When speaking about Wintu culture, we cannot speak of the self *and* society, but rather of the self *in* society" (1959, p. 132). "A study of the grammatical expression of identity, relationship and otherness, shows that the Wintu conceive of the self not as strictly delimited or defined, but as a concentration, at most, which gradually fades and gives place to the other. Most of what is other for us, is for the Wintu completely or partially or upon occasion, identified with the self" (1959, p. 134). The Wintu sense of self includes the rich experience of the natural world in Northern California.

Shweder and Bourne (1984, p. 195) have shown that "different peoples not only adopt distinct world views, but that these world views have a decisive influence on their cognitive functioning." The use of a variety of sense modalities as well as the trance or integrative state of consciousness itself is an indicator of a different sense of self in the world that is not easily grasped by Western concepts.

The modern self we are so familiar with is of rather recent origin and probably only two hundred or so years old. The term 'autobiography' emerges in the English language at the beginning of the 19th century. As an expression

of the modern self it is an equally recent event, the self-conscious telling and creating of who we think we are and how we would like to be seen. Autobiographies provide access to understanding the social constructions of the self and a means of creative revisioning. In postmodern times a new twist has been added to the masterful, bounded self with few allegiances: now "persons exist in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction; it is a world where anything goes that can be negotiated. Each reality of self gives way to reflexive questioning, irony, and ultimately the playful probing of yet another reality. The center fails to hold" (Gergen, 1991, p. 7). The use of social media affords individuals a new sense of fluidity and drama (Rifkin, 2010); however, the grounding in a multi-sensual universe is limited given the current limitations of technology.

It is easy to see that contemporary identities are challenged as economic globalization, the internet and other forces impact how we see ourselves and others, often leaving the sense of identity threatened, if not in shambles. We only need to think of the fundamentalist and essentializing solutions that lead to bloody wars or the disorientation caused by the lack of local attachments, the indiscriminate inundation with global information, or experiences of strange-seeming cultures flooding the familiar. Identities, more often than not, are no longer secure and anxiety is one of the consequences (Omer & Kremer, 2003).

The beginnings of transpersonal psychology seem conditioned upon the modernist conception of the well-bounded and masterful self that appropriates spiritual and other realities. A participatory understanding of spiritual events challenges not only this conceptualization, but also, and maybe even more profoundly, our notions of self. Ferrer's (2002) reconceptualizations of transpersonal experiences and altered or integrative states of consciousness put transpersonal psychology back in touch with its pragmatic origins in indigenous traditions. I prefer the term "integrative states of consciousness" (see Winkelman, 2000), since it indicates the process of shifts in shamanic patterns of phenomenal properties where right and left hemisphere as well as younger and older parts of the brain engage in integrative functions.

Arnold Krupat, scholar of Native American autobiographies, has observed that "Native American conceptions of the self tend toward integrative rather than oppositional relations with others" (1994, p. 4). The emphasis of Native autobiographical stories is thus not merely on interiority and individualism, but just as much on the embeddedness in the whole – community, the stories and histories community carries, places (see Silko, 1977; Hogan, 2001; Krupat, 1994 a & b).

Historical changes in the experience and narration of self find a reflection in the changes in our relationship to different sense experiences. It is this

history of loss of a multi sense experience of self and world that results in the development of the modern self. Our brain evolved around the olfactory sense – we think because we have smelled (Ackerman, 1990). Olfaction is woven into the process of remembering and emotion like no other sense. Eurocentered cultures suffer from an increase in anosmia; the highly skilled olfactory orienteering that indigenous peoples are capable of cannot be found in modern individuals.

Among the Tzotzil Maya we find heat as the central coordinate of space and time (Classen, 1993). The Cibicue Apache we find that “wisdom sits in places” (Basso, 1996). For the Ongee of the Andaman Islands smell is the source of identity (Pandya, 1987). And the Amazonian Desana use color as central coordinate (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1971). Visitors frequently find these cultures confusing and lacking in visual precision, even among the Desana with their notably different use of the visual sense.

The history of our dissociation from an embedded sense experience of human consciousness in community and nature is complex and I am only mentioning the broad brush strokes (see Kremer, 2002, a, b, c & d for more details). The result is the loss of an integrative use of sense experiences, the suppression of sensuality, oral tradition, and, simultaneously, a loss of integrative trance experiences as the focus on visual perception and writing increasingly predominates.

So when we discuss multi-sense, then we are talking about the evocation and practice of this indigenous self, different from the Western (post)modern self for which normative dissociation is the hallmark. We are talking about a process in which not just the mind together with its focus on visual impressions is present, but a process in which presence involves multi-sense and multi-dimensional experience and awareness. This expands our focus from a rather singular concern with sonic driving to a quality of trance experience that facilitates a multidimensional sense of self and world potentially enabling postmodern individuals to regain access to a sense of self beneficial for our evolutionary future.

Multidimensionality of Diné Chantways

Diné (Navajo) chantways represent a complex system of ceremonies that can, in some sense, be seen as exemplars for the multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in indigenous traditions. *Hataál* in the Diné language means chant and *hataalii* means medicine person, singer, or chanter. There are about 60 distinct Diné names for various chantways and chantway branches, many of them now considered extinct (Young & Morgan, 1987). The chants are usually

grouped into four basic categories: Blessing Way, Holy Way, Night Way, and Evil Way. The specific names of chants are indicative of a particular mythology, symptom, or intervention, ranging from Red Ant Way, Raven Way, Game Way, and Big Star Way to Hand Trembling Way and Prostitution Way. Ceremonies typically last several days, with the longest of them lasting up to nine days. The performance of a *hatáál* is expected to be carried out by following precise instructions and special procedures in order to counteract any errors that have occurred. This gives them a flavor that is liturgical rather than improvised, inspired, or spontaneous as we find in other indigenous shamanic practices (although ceremonies connected with the oldest layer of the Navajo traditions, such as those involving crystal gazing and hand trembling, belong into the latter category; see Luckert 1975). However, the shamanic origin of chantways is clearly discernable in most cases. Faris (1990), in discussing the Night Way, stresses that these "healing procedures which order, harmonize and re-establish and situate social relations – *are in local knowledge prior to other concerns*. And it is only in careful attention to *local beliefs* and *local knowledge* that Navajo conceptions of order and beauty can be understood" (p. 3; italics in original). The local knowledge system includes herbal knowledge, understandings of the four directional sacred mountains, creation stories, and much more.

The Coyote Way (*mq'iiji hatáál*) has been documented in great detail, together with an extensive photographic record, by Luckert (1979). It is worth exploring this example in some detail to exemplify the intricate multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures that exists in indigenous cultural practices. Coyote Way is a 9-day ceremony that involves Unraveling Ceremonies (so named because during the first four evenings and nights bundles of herbs and other ingredients are unraveled to loosen the illness) and Fire Ceremonies (occupying the first four mornings and noon) as well as Basket-Drum Ceremonies (occupying the second four evenings and nights) and Sand Painting Ceremonies with one or more god impersonators or *yé'ii* (occurring on the second four mornings and noon), and a final Basket Drum Ceremony on the ninth night. Coyote Way involves 161 chants and prayers (including repetitions) and two different sand paintings (at least in the ceremony documented by Luckert, 1979).

Like other chantways, Coyote Way is "traceable in history, possibly, to a point in time when several formerly shamanic traditions became amalgamated into the conglomerate healing ceremonials of later priestly *hataalii* or singers" (Luckert, 1979, p. 3). Communication with spirits in an altered state is now replaced by learned liturgy of the poetic chantway; discussion of altered states or spirits are not part of the proceedings. In fact, it might be seen as problematic

if a participant were to report the sighting of a spirit (Faris, 1988, personal communication; see also Sandner, 1979 discussion below). Many of the specific procedures used, based on extant research, can be seen as conducive to changes of various aspects of consciousness (such as rattling or repetitive chanting or the shift in waking cycle) or they can be interpreted as social cues that prompt the patient to engage in appropriate behavior (with no apparent signs of alterations in one's patterns of phenomenal properties).

The origin myth of Coyote Way, however, clearly indicates the inspired or shamanic origins of the now highly structured priestly performance and can be seen as the account of an earlier shamanic visionary experience (see Winkelman 2000 for a differentiation of shamans and priests). The different versions of the origin myth (Luckert, 1979) provide the *cultural context* (italics are used from here on in to indicate the multi-sense dimensions discussed in the next section). The beginning of one version of the story talks about the origin of chantways in dreams. It describes a journey through the sacred landscape of the Diné people (*sacred geography*). A boy has exhausted his hunting luck and follows coyote tracks in hopes that they might lead him to some game. He arrives at a frozen pond and follows the tracks down a ladder. In this underworld he receives detailed instructions on how to conduct the Coyote Way and the ceremony is performed over him. He then teaches the Earth People the ceremony before returning to the Coyote People. This myth exemplifies a 4-year long shamanic underworld journey, as the story goes (analogous to the prolonged initiations during "shamanic illness" among Siberian tribes; Vasilevič, 1968) and sets the cultural context for the ritual. It should be noted that the Great Coyote previously had much more positive connotations as a trickster and hunter than it has today.

Coyote illness originates with the Great Coyote beyond the East and is brought to humans via predators from Sun and Moon. The basic symptoms seem to be mania, nervous malfunctions, and rabies, with such symptomatic behavior as twisted mouth, cross-eyed vision, weakened eyesight, loss of memory, and fainting. Faris (1990) has extensively argued for the importance of situating ceremonial practices and reliance on the authority of practitioners of local knowledge (as opposed to the use of Jungian or other perspectives alien to Diné cultural practices).

The absence of a formal trance or hypnotic-like induction does not prevent the client from becoming receptive to a suggestion and motivated to follow it, just as most, if not all, hypnotic phenomena can be evoked without hypnotic induction (Kirsch, 1990, p. 129). Contributing to this procedure is the multi-modal approach that characterizes Navajo chants, as well as their repetitive

nature and the mythic content of the words, which are easily deciphered by those clients well-versed in tribal mythology.

They were given, they were given,

Those were given, those were given.

The Sons of Sun were given. Those were given, those were given.

The Sons of White Corn were given. Those were given, those were given.

The Dark Cloud about the earth was given. Those were given, those were given.

(Beginning of 1. Song on first evening of Coyoteway ceremonial; Luckert, 1979, p. 37)

The repetitive nature of the chanting and the lyrics are likely to induce at least a mild alteration in consciousness. Sandner (1979) described how the visual images of the sand paintings and the body paintings, the audible recitation of prayers and songs, the touch of the prayer sticks and the hands of the medicine man, the taste of the ceremonial musk and herbal medicines, and the smell of the incense "all combine to convey the power of the chant to the patient" (p. 215). Here we have *tactile stimulation*, *olfaction*, *gustatory stimulation*, *auditory* and *visual stimulation* creating a specific state of consciousness. They induce a culturally specific form of attention which is illustrated further below. A *hataalii* usually displays a highly developed dramatic sense in carrying out the chant but generally avoids the clever sleight of hand effects used by many other cultural healing practitioners to demonstrate their abilities to the community (p. 241). The following four sections describe the multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in the Coyote Way.

Unraveling Ceremony. This involves a number of bundles (made of feathers and plants; *ritual implements*), a watery mixture to be consumed (made from corn and other plants; *gustatory stimulation*), a rub-on medicine (made from herbs; *tactile stimulation*, *olfaction*). At the beginning of the ceremony, cornmeal is sprinkled in a circle for the patient to sit in; it represents the world. The patient circles the fire and sits in this microcosm of the world made present through the cornmeal design (*sacred geography*). Songs evoke the origins of the Coyote Way (*storytelling*), "They were given, they were given ... He brought it back, he brought it back" (Luckert, 1979, p. 37). The bundle gets pressed against the body of the patient in important places and the bundles are loosened to loosen the knots in the patient's body (*tactile stimulation*, *drama*). Then the patient drinks the watery mixture (*gustatory stimulation*) and the rub-on medicine is applied to the body (*tactile stimulation*) while songs

commemorate the shamanic initiation of the original practitioner into the Coyote Way (*storytelling*). This ceremony concludes, as do all ceremonies that are part of the Coyote Way, with a feather burning rite (*olfaction, drama*).

Fire Ceremony. The fire is made with fire sticks while chanting is going on (*ritual implement, auditory stimulation*). Reed-prayer stick bundles are prepared (which include various bird feathers, pollen, and tobacco); through this smoke (*olfaction*) the Holy People are tricked and they burn the arrow, which has been smuggled into the bundle (this is an arrow that has affected the patient negatively); the patient carries these items about half a mile in each of the cardinal directions and deposits them (*drama*). The chanting recounts the exploits of the first shaman as he walked in the four directions (*storytelling, sacred geography*). In addition, plant bundles are also used on the body of the patient. A sweating rite follows and an emetic drink (made from juniper, pine, spruce, algae, berry, and other plant ingredients) is prepared and consumed and rubbed on the body after the sweat (*cleansing, tactile stimulation*). Songs guide in the identification with the Great Coyote and the ceremony literally proceeds inside this cosmic being (*sacred geography, storytelling*).

Basket Drum Ceremony. Two large yucca leaves are knitted together into a drumstick for use on an upside down wedding basket. The healing progresses, as indicated by chants like "I am reviving my mind in the presence of the Sun The blessing is given, the blessing is given." Each basket-drum session ends with a feather burning rite (*drama, olfaction, storytelling*).

Sand Painting Ceremony. During these ceremonies the *yé'ii* or gods or holy people appear. The sand paintings represent the cosmos in a controllable form (*sacred geography*). The image recounts the emergence of humans as well as the origin of the Coyote Way. The sand painting, depicting Holy People and corn, is an image of balance and the patient is placed on it while the *yé'ii* work on him or her by administering medicines. In this way the patient is literally physically moved from a place of imbalance and ill health onto a place of balance and healing (by sitting in the balanced cosmos of the sand painting; *drama*).

It is safe to assume that these hypnotic-like procedures affect the state of attention and mentation of both the *hataalii* and the patient during the chant. Sandner (1979) summarizes that the *hataalii*'s performance empowers the client by creating a "mythic reality," an invocation of cosmic balance, through the use of chants, dances, and songs (often accompanied by drums and rattles), masked dancers, purifications (e.g., sweats, purgings, herbal infusions, ritual bathings, sexual abstinence), and sand paintings. The healing sessions may involve symbols and metaphors acted out by performers, enacted in purification rites, or executed in dry paintings (a more accurate term, since other substances

are also used) composed of sand, corn meal, charcoal, and flowers -- but destroyed once the healing session is over. Some paintings, such as those used in the Blessing Way chant are crafted from ingredients that have not touched the ground (e.g., corn meal, flower petals, charcoal). Wyman (1983) points out that there three different types of composition in sandpaintings: linear (symbols in a row), radial or circular (main symbols cardinally oriented), and extended center (occupying most of the design). Different colors are associated with different directions and constituent of *sacred geography*.

From an etic perspective, Topper's (1987) study of Navajo *hataalii* indicated that they raise their clients' expectations through the example they set of stability and competence. Politically, they are authoritative and powerful; this embellishes their symbolic value as "transference figures" in the psychoanalytic sense, representing "a nearly omniscient and omnipotent nutritive grandparental object" (p. 221). Frank and Frank (1991) have stated it more directly: "The personal qualities that predispose patients to a favorable therapeutic response are similar to those that heighten susceptibility to methods of healing in non-industrialized societies, religious revivals, experimental manipulations of attitudes, and administration of a placebo" (p. 184).

The hypnotic-like procedures strengthen the support by family and community members as well as the client's identification with figures and activities in Navajo cultural myths, both of which are powerful elements in the attempted healing. But do these procedures deserve a description that indicates a major shift in conscious functioning? Sandner (1979) found that his informants were insulted when it was suggested that Navajo *hataalii* change their state of consciousness to such an extent that their sense of identity is lost (possession trance); such a shift would distract the practitioners from the attention to detail and the precise memory needed for a successful performance. (This comment supports the utility of such less loaded terms as "attentional shifts" and "changed patterns of phenomenological properties.") Loss of identity would suggest "possession trance", while "religious trance" (as defined in Goodman, 1988) is likely a more appropriate anthropological description, especially since it can be subtle and lacking in drama. This interpretation is consistent with my observations during Diné chantway ceremonies. In fact, the slight shift in attention might be facilitative of state specific memories and help the *hataalii* in his ceremonial work (Fischer, 1986). Conceptualizing phenomenal properties on a continuum, rather than a binary altered vs. Not altered, is helpful in understanding indigenous practices impacting consciousness processes. Arguably, the self-concept of indigenous people and modern observers are different (Cushman, 1995; Kremer, 2004a & b); the apparent greater inclusiveness and fluidity (as far as boundaries to everyday consensual reality,

in the Western sense, are concerned) may make shifts in attention on certain occasions less dramatic or less apparent, with the experient judging them to be quite normal (rather than dramatically different). I have observed the intertribal Cherokee/Shoshone medicine man Rolling Thunder by all indications fluidly moving in and out of notably different states of consciousness while answering questions in conversation.

At best, the *hataalii* appear to modify their attentional states and their patterns of phenomenological properties rather than to "alter" all of their subsystems of consciousness, or their consciousness as a totality. Attention determines what enters someone's awareness. When attention is selective, there is an aroused internal state that makes some stimuli more relevant than others and thus more likely to attract one's attention. A trait that is more characteristic of shamans than a "shamanic state of consciousness" might be the unique attention that shamans give to the relations among human beings, their own bodies, and the natural world -- and their willingness to share the resulting knowledge with others (Krippner, 2002, p. 967).

Multi-Sense Perspectives on Hypnotic-Like Procedures

The following list highlights some of the most obvious dimensions that are part of the Diné ritual endeavors (as highlighted above in parentheses and italics). I am using chantways as exemplars to develop dimensions that are more generally relevant in indigenous traditions (see Kremer, 2002a, for a more lengthy discussion). In each of these dimensions we find pointers for a participatory indigenous self understanding. Now and then I am including illustrative mention of examples from other cultures, primarily the Sámi culture.

Cultural Context. The application of hypnotic procedures in Western clinical settings does not occur in the context of a shared cultural mythology or shared stories and ritual practices; it is specific to the individual. By contrast, indigenous ceremonies are enacted in a rich cultural context in which the patient participates. These mythic stories (especially their understanding of the healing process, the origin of symptoms, and the goal of health or balance) provide a rich context that may or may not be verbalized or made present during the ceremony, but is, nonetheless, the operative background of hypnotic-like procedures. The Coyoteway origin story summarized above is an example that provides important cultural context and shows the shamanic origins of this Diné ceremony. It is further contextualized by the rich weave of other chantway rituals and stories, incl. the emergence stories.

Sacred Geography. Oftentimes healing rituals occur within a geography that is invoked, literally traveled to, or replicated in the place of ceremony

(such as the Diné hogan or the Sámi *lavvu* tent and the *goahti*); the macrocosm of the cultural sacred geography is thus mirrored in the sacred layout of the place of ceremony (as in Diné sand paintings).

The sacred geography of the Diné revolves around four sacred mountains, each fastened in a particular fashion (e.g., with a sunbeam), each with particular kinds of rain, with a particular stone or shell on which bird's eggs have been laid, each with a male and female figure, and many different animals. In the center is the layout of a traditional hogan with the door facing east, the north side the male and the south side the female side, and *hataalii* and patient assigned particular places in the northwest. When members of the Diné cultures enter, they enter not just a dwelling but a sacred geography that is complex and explained in numerous stories that are part of the chantway system.

This sacred geography is at times also depicted on top of the ceremonial building (fig. 1), the Hogan (the entrance is on the right or east). One of the drypaintings from the same chantway, the Nightway, also shows the basic sacred geography on the inside with tracks leading into its center (fig. 2).

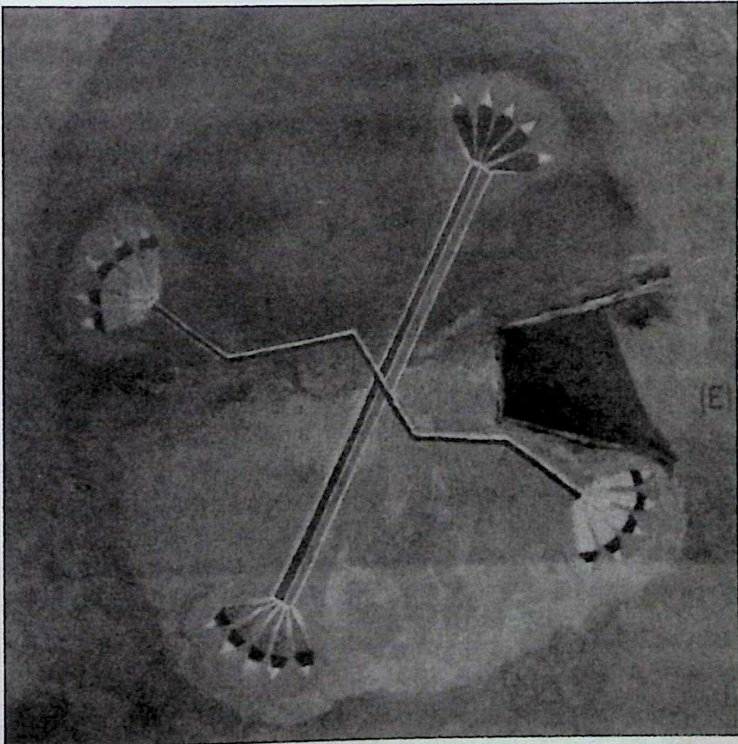


Figure 1: Nightway hogan decoration (Matthews 1902)

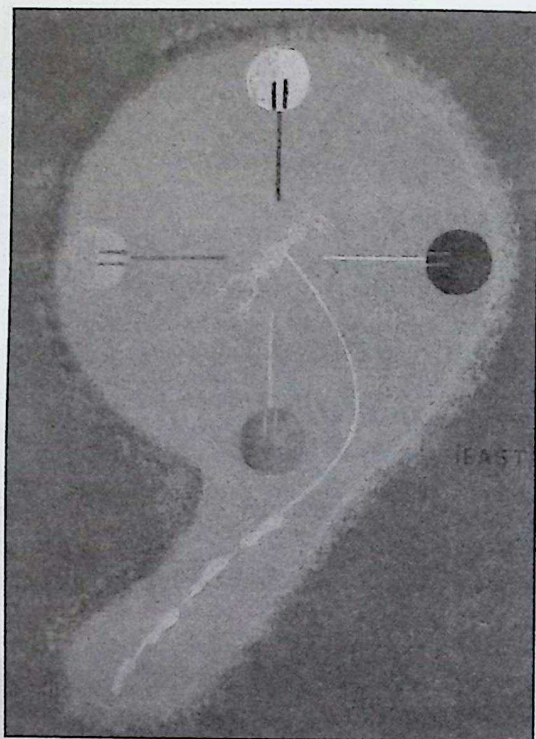


Figure 2: Nightway Interior sandpainting (Matthews 1902)

As we have seen above in the descriptions of the Coyoteway, during chantway ceremonies patients literally sit in the center of these balanced depictions of the world so that their suffering (meaning: they are out of balance) gets balanced again.

Storytelling. Stories are frequently used to invoke cultural context, to explain illness, and to guide healing. They may also serve to shift attention, very much like in the practice of Milton Erickson (Erickson, Rossi, & Rossi, 1976) or in the adaptation of indigenous practices in counseling and psychotherapy (see Krippner, Bova, Gray, & Kay, 2007; Krippner, Bova, & Gray, 2007). The following short excerpt from the Coyoteway (Luckert, 1979, pp. 112-113) is an example of storytelling that connects the patient with the mythology of Coyote and its repetitive format facilitates shifts in attention as the words are chanted:

With my Mind I walk in the presence of the Sun,
 With my Mind I walk, with my Mind I walk,
 With my Mind I walk, with my Mind I walk.
 Beneath the Two Rising, with my Mind I walk.

Where White Coyote Medicine is, with my Mind I walk,
 Where White Air is, with my Mind I walk.
 On the Path of yellow Cornpollen, with my Mind I walk.
 Among Rainbows, with my Mind I walk.
 Amid round Corn, with Mind I walk, with my Mind I walk.

Verbal Instructions. In most situations specific verbal instructions (e.g., as induction or suggestion) form the smallest part of the proceedings. In the Coyoteway these instructions or suggestions take the same repetitive chanting format as other songs. The lines celebrate the effects of the sweat and “coming out” of the feathery arrows of witchcraft (Luckert, 1979, p. 83):

With these, with these, it is coming out.
 With these, with these, it is coming out.
 From the bones, it is coming out.
 With the Sun as his shield, it is coming out.

Singing or Chanting. Songs or repetitive chanting as part of invocations, affirmations, or suggestions both provide direction, invoke stories, spirits, or cosmologies, and shift the participant’s attention. We have by now seen a number of examples from Coyoteway. Here is an example from a Tuvan shaman’s *algys*h chant, which called the soul of a man who died forty nine days before (Kenin-Lopsan, 1994, p. 36):

You, the deceased, do not go away.
You, the deceased, come here to speak.
You, the deceased, who is that one you brought with yourself?
Whom does that black horse with the white spot on the forehead belong to?

Are they those guys that beat you cruelly last night?
Evidently it’s them who beat you that night?
They beat you ruthlessly to death.
Are you revenging yourself on those who insulted you then?

Look, they are young and full of life.
Look, they did that harm by mistake.
And you, the deceased, take this tasty food.
And you, the deceased, be merciful to their young lives.

Percussion and other Musical Instruments. Research (e.g., Neher, 1961) has demonstrated that the repetitive use of a percussion instrument, such as

drumming, can lead to alterations in the patterns of phenomenological properties. Such isolated use of an induction seems extremely rare in indigenous practices. These powerful ways to shift attention (drumming, rattling, bullroarer, click sticks, whistles, etc.) are usually only one aspect of a multi-sensory design of healing procedures. In the Diné Coyoteway we find frequent use of the rattle with the chants (Luckert, 1979) as part of the multisensory proceedings. Oftentimes these instruments hold stories that are part of how the instrument was made. These may be dreams that instruct a shaman what design to choose or whether the making of the drum follows particular ritual steps, e.g., in Siberia (see Potapov 1968; Vajñštejn, 1968). The Sámi people are known for the elaborately decorated drums that depict their cosmology. Pentikäinen (2011) recently discussed how he understands the drum face of the Sámi drum as the exoteric aspect, while the inside of the drum holds the esoteric aspects. Both faces of the drum would hold stories (figure 3), the outside connected with known Sámi mythology, while the inside holding the *noaidi*'s specialized shamanic knowledge and experiences. The illustration on the left shows both drum faces, while the drum in figure 4 shows a depiction of Sámi cosmology on the exoteric face of the drum.

Ritual Implements. These may include feathers, amulets, crystals, wands, among many others, all considered to have special powers or spiritual

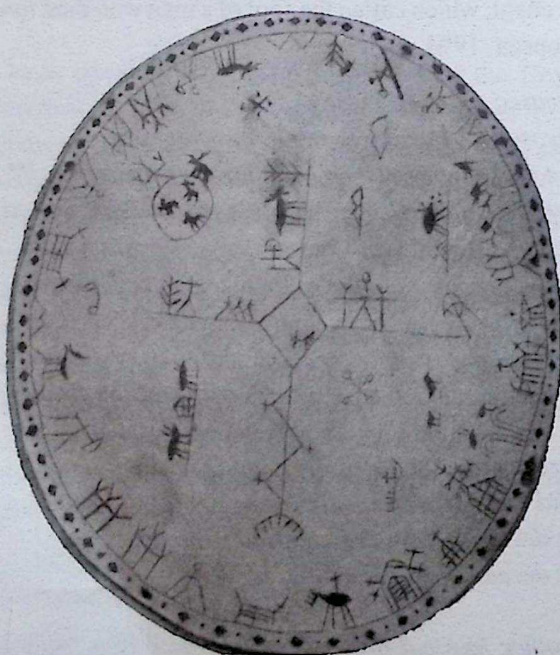


Figure 3: Sámi drum, exoteric face (author photo)

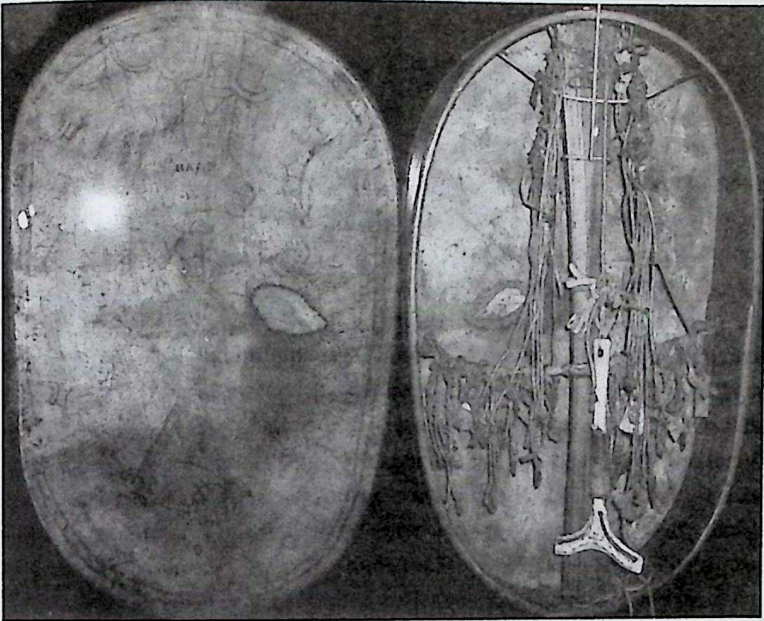


Figure 4: Exoteric and esoteric faces of a Sami drum (author photos)

importance. Diné (Navajo) bundles (*jish*) contain a variety of items specific to different chantways. Items range from bullroarers to feathers to crystals to prayersticks.

Olfaction. The most common ritual event is probably the use of herbs as incense or offering (such as sage, cedar, or juniper) or the smoking of herbs (such as tobacco) as well as the use of fire and its ensuing smoke.

Gustatory Stimulation and Dietary Practices. The ingestion of mind-altering plants or other herbal remedies with specific alleged healing properties, as well as changes in diet (fasting, dry fasting, or other restrictions) are an important aspect of many indigenous healing ceremonies. In the Coyoteway we find the use of *iilkóóh* medicine, brewed as strong tea from numerous ingredients, such as juniper, piñon, reeds, reasewood, and more; it is used as emetic.

Cleansing. This may involve such activities as ingesting emetics, washing (such as with yucca suds), bathing, standing under a waterfall, and sweating (in a sauna, Native American sweat lodge, etc.). In Mongolia we find cleansing through the Nine Stone Ceremony.

Tactile Stimulation. This may include various forms of massaging, stimulating pressure points, slapping, simple touching, and related procedures. In Mongolia we find whipping for purification and cleansing. I have observed

a Buryat shaman poke and massage the patient with various implements, including sharp objects.

Movement. Dance, particularly repetitive dance, is probably the most common use of movement; however, there are various stylized postures and interactive movements that fall into this category as well. Some of the Navajo chantways include dances, such as the squawdance. The Plains Indian sundance and the various dances of the Southwestern Pueblo cultures in the U.S. are other examples.

Body painting. The patient and/or shamanic practitioner as well as other participants may use temporary or permanent designs evocative of particular presences or various mythological stories. We find bodypainting in the Navajo (see figure 5) and the neighboring Pueblo cultures (e.g., the black and white stripes of the clowns or *koshare*).

Drama. Dramatic enactments may be part of the invocation of story, notions of health and balance, or the cosmology within which a hypnotic-like procedure occurs. During the final days of sandpainting ceremonies in the

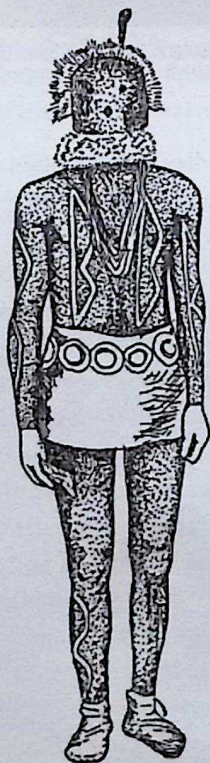


Figure 5: Navajo bodypainting (Matthews 1897)

Coyoteway, first one, then three *yé'ii* or god impersonators make a dramatic appearance and work on the patient. At times patients themselves have to act, e.g., when the patient during the Coyoteway ceremony circles the fire sunwise and then carries bundles for about half a mile in each of the four directions.

Waking-Sleeping Cycles. Many ceremonies occur during the evening, late into the night, or during the entire night. Wakefulness to ritual proceedings at a time when participants usually sleep and dream also facilitates changes in attention. In Diné (Navajo) ceremonies day and night are interchanged, i.e., a ceremonial day equals one night. Ceremonial proceedings during the time when we commonly go through periods of dreaming add to the intensity of the experience.

In some traditions we may find many of these dimensions present during native ceremonies, but in others only a few are effectively employed for the sake of healing. The examples discussed below illustrate the range of multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in sample cultures.

Contemporary Shamanic Practices in Sápmi

The Sámi traditions are probably best known for their use of elaborately designed shamanic drums. The Sámi people, who speak several distinct languages, live in Sápmi, located in the Scandinavian Fennoscandia region and on the Kola Peninsula. Rydving (1993) published a book entitled *The End of the Drum-Time* that discusses the religious change at the end of the 17th century with the intensification of Christianization; at that time the drums had to be hidden and numerous drums were destroyed or were taken and ended up in museum collections. In recent decades the use of the drum has resumed and some artisans (such as Lars Pirak) make drums and sell them only with the promise of use (but not for show or as mere museum pieces).

The shaman is called *noaidi* (the one who sees, from *oaidnit*, to see) and he or she works with the drum, *govadas*, meaning "an instrument to develop pictures with" (*govva* means picture) (Kallio, 1997). The drums are instrumental in facilitating attentional shifts and modifications of the *noaidi*'s pattern of phenomenological properties.

Valkeapää (1991) has probably provided the most detailed evocation of a contemporary traditional Sámi worldview which poetically celebrates the power of the sun, *beaivi*; the title of the book is *The Sun, My Father*. It is a work of healing which is effected by bringing old pictures taken by anthropologists from museum archives back to the land of the Sámi people, Sápmi. It is a shamanic work of art that utilizes traditional chanting (*yoiking*), sounds of nature, poetry, and imagery to immerse the reader in the Sámi world (in the

recorded version of the book). Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is usually just known by the honorific Áilu or Áilohaš and his shamanic gifts are apparent in his numerous publications and cds.

Places of offering, *sieddit*, play an important part in Sámi traditional practices; they can be found all over Sápmi. Frequently these are cracks in rocks, and coins and other objects can usually be found in them. A rock carving in Jiepmaluokta (Bay of Seal Cubs, near Alta, Norway) is intriguing on a number of counts (it dates to approximately 4200-3600 B.C.E.). According to the interpretation of a contemporary noaidi (Kallio, 1996, personal communication) one part of it depicts the offering of a reindeer eye to the earth (detail in black in figure 6; surrounding images are in gray; the rock contains many more images).

One of the most interesting offering stones can be found at the center of a spiral (the flat stone is more than 2 meters high and may have astronomical significance). The site is located on the northernmost fjord of Sápmi (Norwegian

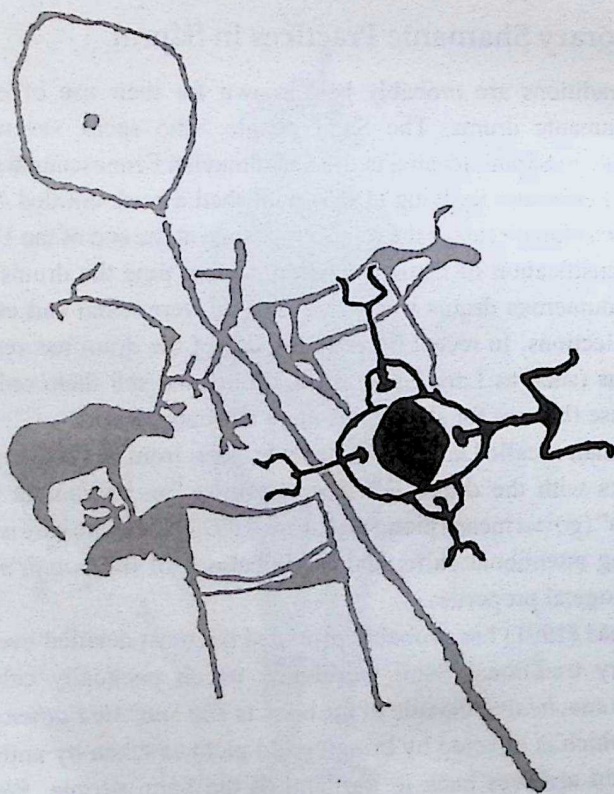


Figure 6: Rock carving from Alta, Norway (Jiepmaluokta, Sápmi) (author computer graphic)

side), Varangerfjord, opposite the Kola Peninsula. Its name, *Ceavccageadgi* (Fish Oil Stone), identifies a place where offerings of gratitude for a good catch were and are made, as I had occasion to observe.

In the Sámi worldview every person has an immortal *fárrosaš*, a journey companion. The shaman or *noaidi* has three “animal helpers”: *saivoloddi*, a bird that shows where to go; *saivoguolli*, a fish that helps enter the underworld; and *saivosarva*, a reindeer, which could fight on behalf of the *noaidi* (Kallio, 1997; Siri, 1998). Pirak (1996, personal communication) related a dramatic tale of a shamanic fight that involves several instances of shape shifting, including the transformation of one *noaidi* into a powerful loon. Ultimately, one of the shamans who were standing trial for shamanizing or *noaidivuohhta*, is absolved of wrong-doing because the judge acknowledges how beneficial his actions were.

For the Sámi, shamanic traditions are returning in various ways, including dreams that contain shamanic elements such as eagles, sunbeams, and humans “with wings spread” (Siri, 1998, p. 34). Rock carvings showing people with wings have been found in various places in Scandinavia. The Sámi traditions see the sun as the giver of light, warmth, and fertility; sunbeams create soul and spirit that travels to First Father who sends it on to First Mother who creates a body for the soul. Kallio comments: “The first shaman was a woman, the daughter of Sun and Eagle. Today this woman lives in a tree, and that is where the shamans get their education” (in Siri, 1998, p. 34). Mulk & Bayliss-Smith (2006) have reconstructed the ancient Sámi worldview:

- The *Upper World* is in the south, warm, associated with life, the color white, and swans. It is the place of the sun and Máttaráhkká, the stem mother. Holy mountains are at the boundary between the human (middle) world and the Upper World.
- The *Middle World* (human world) is associated with the color red and it is here that bear ceremonies, reindeer sacrifices, and grave offerings occur. It contains *sieddit* (offering places) and sacred springs (*ája*).
- The *Underworld* is located in the north and associated with cold, death, and the color black; new souls return from here. It is the place of the mythical reindeer as well as otters, loons, and seals. The River of Blood constitutes the boundary between the Underworld and the Middle World.

Mulk & Bayliss-Smith (2006) comment that “this world view, or some version of it, must have structured people’s everyday behavior in a range of contexts, by defining what aspects of life and landscape were regarded as normal and what aspects were regarded as special or ‘sacred’ (p. 97). The design of old

drums frequently has the sun at its center; it can be understood as the gateway or portal into the spirit world (Kallio, 1996, personal communication); reindeer bull commonly stand right next to it. White reindeer carry particular shamanic significance. (See figure 4 above; note the similarity between this image and the rock carving above.)

The drum is used in two distinct ways: 1) For visionary seeing (“prophecy”) with the help of a ring, reindeer bone, or frog skin that moves across the drumhead during drumming and lands on particular images that then get interpreted (this use of the drum is illustrated in the movie *Pathfinder*, where it is used to determine who is to kill a bear); and, 2) as an instrument for shamanic journeying, where it is often used together with chanting.

I experienced *noaidivuohta* (shamanic activity) on numerous occasions in Sápmi along the river Deatnu. For one such ceremony the setting was a *lavvu*, the traditional Sámi tipi, out on the tundra by a lake. The ceremony commenced late in the evening when the midnight sun was low, but above the horizon. The



Figure 7: Sami noaidi Biret Maret Kallio (author photo)

drum used by Biret Máret Kallio was contemporary in design and had been given to her by another *noaidi*; the images reflected, as in older designs, the Sámi worldview and “animal helpers” with whom she has a particular relationship. Our initial conversation, before the drumming commenced, covered a variety of shamanic topics, including how many white reindeer I had encountered during my trip past the Arctic Circle to her place of residence. The birch wood fire with its particular smell, together with the smoke of the local juniper (*reatká*), were at the center. Coffee was offered to Sáráhkka, arguably the most important female spirit in daily life; she lives in the fire and is one of three daughters of Máttaráhkku (the Tribal Mother or Mother Earth). Old drums frequently depict the three sister spirits in the center (Sáráhkka, Uksáhkka [door woman, protector of environment, mother and child], and Juoksáhkka [bow woman, protector of children]). The offering to the hearth (*árran*) was mandatory before beginning the shamanic journeying work. The drumming was accompanied by chanting, at times overtone chanting, and repeated loud invocations of the bear, *guovža*. The combination of the setting, timing, smells of the fire, drumming, and chanting facilitated a profound alteration of consciousness and intense experiences of visual imagery. At the end the three participants in this ritual shared their experiences. I noticed profound attentional shifts, some of them hypnotic-like in nature.

By contrast to Diné chantways or other Native American ceremonies, such as those held by the Native American Church or the Plains Indian sun dance, the observations of Sámi *noaidivuotta* were characterized by informality and a spontaneous or inspirational approach. Other settings included work with groups in the *lavvu* and shamanizing using the drum in order to protect threatened ancient Sámi sites.

Processes Induced by Hypnotic-Like Procedures

As I have shown in my discussion of the above two examples, it is not just sonic driving by percussion instruments, but a complex array of multi-sense experience in complex cultural contexts that induce alterations in consciousness. One could even say that the practitioner doesn't leave things to chance by evoking a profound ritual process by a variety of means, rather than relying on just one. Of course, the goal is not the achievement of an ASC, but healing (balancing) individuals within their cultural universe. Of course, what is worked with is merely an alteration of brainwaves, say, but a powerful immersion in experiences of cultural meaning. The shaman's (and the participants') immersion into the participatory world of spirit facilitates an affirmation, renewal, and, possibly, new interpretation of cultural meanings

that are held and activated in the various dimension of shamanic ritual experiences. What is the process of such immersion, such coming to presence?

Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998/1996) have proposed three stages of what they call "shamanic consciousness" (see also Lewis-Williams, 2002). This is consistent with Tart's (1975) discussion of the process of altered states and Winkelman's (2000) discussion of the neuropsychological bases of rock art. Figure 8 combines the work of Clottes and Lewis-Williams, Tart, and Kremer (2002b). It illustrates the stages of "shamanic consciousness" or "shamanic patterns of phenomenal properties" during hypnotic-like procedures using an abstract depiction, images from contemporary Western processes, European Paleolithic cave art, San rock art, and Diné rock art (see Krippner & Kremer, 2010 for further discussion). The left column presents images of consensual, everyday reality, while the columns toward the right show in increasing alteration of attention and shifts in one's pattern of phenomenological properties.

In *Stage One*, people move from alert consciousness to a "light" alteration, beginning to experience geometric forms, meandering lines, and other "phosphenes" or "form constants," so named because they appear to be hard wired into the central nervous system. For example, the Tukano people of South America use a series of undulating lines of dots to represent the Milky Way (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1971).

In *Stage Two*, people begin to attribute complex meanings to these "constants." Practitioners enter the next phase in several ways – by crossing a bridge, going through a whirlpool, or entering a hole.

In *Stage Three*, these constants are combined with images of people, animals, spirits, and mythical beings. Experiences began to interact with these images, often feeling themselves to be transformed into animals, either completely or partially (e.g., the celebrated prehistoric Les Trois Frères animal/human depiction); shamanic journeys are generally felt to be more feasible in this form (Clottes & Lewis-Williams, 1996/1998, p. 19). Various chambers of Upper Paleolithic caves seem to have been restricted to advanced practitioners; some caves have spacious chambers embellished with large, imposing images while elsewhere there are often small, sparsely decorated diverticules into which only a few people could congregate (p. 20).

From an epistemological perspective, the shaman gained knowledge from his or her journeys into other realms of existence, and communicated the results to members of the community (Flaherty, 1992, p. 185). Shamans provided information from a database consisting of their dreams, visions, and intuitions, as well as their keen observations of the natural and social world. Sansone (1994) suggested that there was "a degree of genetic predisposition for falling into trance" and that this ability made a significant contribution to social

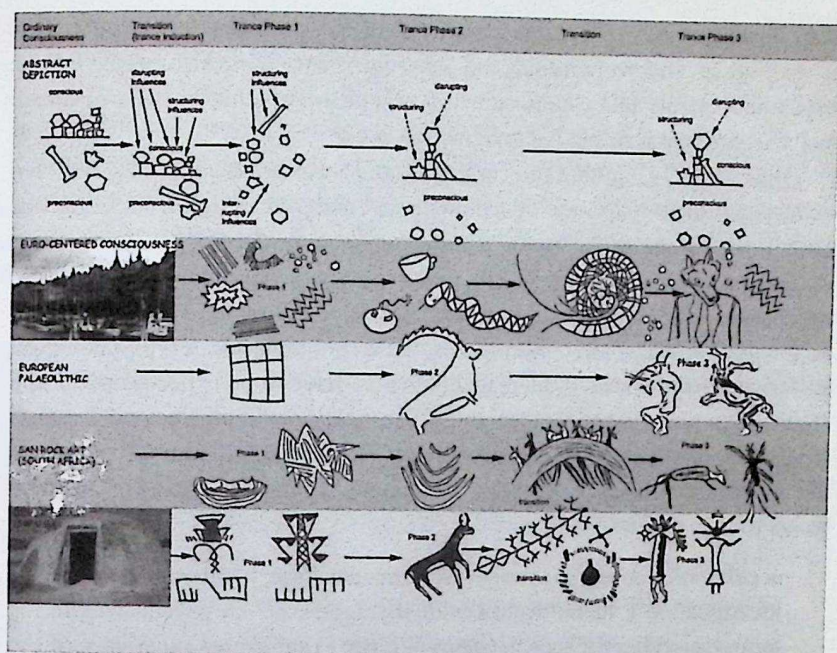


Figure 8: Trance phases (author computer graphic)

evolution (p. 30). For example, there was a succession of Indo-European shamans whose traditions included parent-to-child transmissions of shamanic lore that, in turn, institutionalized extended-family shamanic groups (*ibid.*).

The Psychophysiology of Shamanic Healing

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a detailed presentation of the psychophysiological aspects of shamanic healing. Nonetheless, I want to touch upon some central points. As mentioned previously, I prefer the term "integrative states of consciousness" to "altered states of consciousness" or "trance;" this term can be contrasted with states of normative dissociation which emphasize a limited range of our psychophysiological potential within the boundaries of the masterful self of modernity. At this point it seems accurate to say that shamanic practices may be effective in their healing endeavors, because they integrate evolutionarily older and younger parts of the brain (or emotional and rational parts) or affective, cognitive, and socio-cultural aspects of a person. Images play a central role in this process. Integrative states of consciousness also allow non-indigenous individuals to gain access those parts of their (post)modern selves that normative dissociation commonly prevents

them from accessing (unconscious aspects of our emotions, habits, etc.). This is routine in shamanic ritual and ceremony and it is also what various psychotherapeutic techniques aim to accomplish (whether by way of dream analysis, art, hypnosis, active imaginative, etc.).

Jilek (1982) is among the early authors to explore the interface between culture, self identity, physiological processes, and psychological suffering. His book *Indian Healing – Shamanic Ceremonialism in the Pacific Northwest* is seminal and an early exemplar of a culturally sensitive integration of Western approaches with indigenous understandings. Jilek, following Wittkower, looks at integrative states of consciousness as a prophylactic for psychological suffering. "An increase in mental illness may have to be expected when as a result of culture change [trance and possession states] have ceased to exist" (p. 30). He is particularly concerned with "experiences of cultural confusion and relative deprivation" resulting in "anomic depression" (p. 52). This term refers to

acculturation imposed through western education; b) attempt at White identification ("identification with the aggressor" in psychoanalytic terms), or vying for acceptance by Whites; c) subjective experience of rejection and discrimination – awareness of relative deprivation in White society; d) cultural identity confusion; e) moral disorientation, often with acting out behaviour; f) guilt about denial of Indian-ness – depressive and psychophysiologic symptom formation – inefficiency of Western remedies; g) diagnosis as spirit illness permitting reidentification with aboriginal culture via initiation into spirit dancing ("death and rebirth"); h) alternatively, if initiation prevented by outside factors, ongoing symptom formation, often with intrafamily conflict. (p. 56)

The ritualists of the Northwest Coast traditions have recognized the need for a "culture-congenial" therapy in order "to combat the pathogenic effects of cultural confusion, anomie, and relative deprivation among their people" (p. 62).

In Jilek's analysis the spirit dances of the Northwest Coast integrate occupational therapy, group psychotherapy, cathartic abreaction, psychodrama, direct ego-support, and physical exercise as therapeutic elements (p. 86). He notes that social isolation (with prolonged nocturnal vigilance, expectant alertness, and monotony), motor hyperactivity and mental excitation (associated with prolonged fear and emotional stress, followed by exhaustion and fatigue), and a number of somatopsychological factors (sleep deprivation, hypoglycemia,

dehydration, hypoventilation, exposure to extreme temperatures, self-inflicted pain stimuli) are part of the process.

Jilek concludes that "the indigenous and therapeutic procedures of the spirit dance ceremonial are superior to Western methods, as far as Indian clientele is concerned, in the management of two symptom complexes: 1) conditions of ill health in which psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic mechanisms are prominent (...); 2) antisocial and aggressive behaviour usually associated with alcohol or drug abuse, and emotionally or physically destructive to self and kin" (p. 97). Initiation is understood as overcoming "sickness and faulty behaviour contracted by exposure to an alien culture, through rebirth as a true Indian" (p. 104). I will explore the issues of healing from the experience of an alien culture below in greater detail.

Since the publication of *Indian Healing* in 1982 physiological research has made tremendous strides and numerous results are helpful in understanding shamanic healing processes. Winkelman (2000) has attempted to summarize the available research.

Shamanic practices induce extraordinary experiences and healing by producing integrative relationships among brain systems and psychocultural beliefs. (...) Shamanistic healing practices achieve this integration by physically stimulating systematic brain-wave-discharge patterns that activate affects, memories, attachments, and other psychodynamic processes of the paleomammalian brain. This activation forces normally unconscious or preconscious primary information-processing functions and outputs to be integrated into the operations of the frontal cortex. This integrates implicit understandings, socioemotional dynamics, repressed memories, unresolved conflicts, intuitions, and nonverbal ... knowledge into self-conscious awareness. (p. xii-xiii)

This broad summary needs to suffice for the purposes of this paper. It suggests a multi-dimensional understanding of what makes both psychotherapy and shamanic rituals effective as healing interventions.

The multi-sense process of shamanic rituals is an example of transformative learning, i.e., profound work with deeply engrained meaning structures. It gives access to these meaning structures anchored in parts of the brain that are not easily accessible to reason and disregarded by rationality. Physiological processes, multi-sense experiences, cultural meanings, stories, etc. all mirror each other and create a potent presence in which habitual structures (structures which lead to illness) can become fluid again. As the Wintu ceremonialist and artist Frank LaPena (1999, personal communication) has stated: The elders

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"learn the earth's secrets by quietly observing. It is a secret language called knowledge that releases the spirit from stone and heals by tone of voice and by changing sickness into elements that flow instead of blocking life". Looking at the whole multi-sense picture illuminates the richness in which cultural meanings are carried, embodied, inspired, renewed and used for individual balancing or healing. It also points to the inherent power of shamanic rituals and supports the anecdotal evidence we have of their efficacy.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SYMBOLISATION FROM THE PRE-VERBAL TO THE TRANS-VERBAL: AN EVOLVING CONSCIOUSNESS

Michael M. DelMonte

Introduction

This paper looks at the development of symbolisation - both phylogenetically and ontogenetically, i.e. from its archaic and primitive pre-verbal evolutionary origins, as well as developmentally. The personal development of symbolisation reflects one's evolving internal psychodynamics, but also involves "object relations", and is thus implicated in those "transitional objects" which bridge the gap between our inner and outer worlds.

It is postulated that symbolisation is expressed in three developmental, non-discreet, registers - the sub-verbal (e.g. somatisation), the verbal (e.g. the use of linguistic metaphor) and the para-verbal (e.g. art, sculpture and music). All of these in their development can hint at the existence of a fourth dimension of symbolic expression — namely that of trans-verbal symbolisation. This transcendental dimension is characterised by feelings of timelessness, of eternity, of infinity and of universal relevance.

Symbolisation expresses numerous archetypal motives pertaining to the above four registers, from the sub-verbal (largely instinctual) right up to the trans-verbal (e.g. the spiritual or mystical) domains. Para-verbal symbolism is complementary to language and thereby enriches our search for communion without words. It could thus also be referred to as the "non-verbal".

Symbolisation and Communication

The word symbol can be traced back to the Ancient Greek "symbolon" meaning a token or a sign. Its roots are "sym" which stands for "together", and "ballein"

meaning "to throw". So "to symbolise" conjures up a metaphorical throwing together of signs.

Symbolisation, being an inter-personal process, is essentially linked to conveying something to others. This can take place in different media and at varying levels of complexity. But symbols are more than just signs and more than factual communication. For Carl Jung (1964) signs are always *less* than the concepts that they represent, whilst the symbol stands for something *more* than its obvious and immediate meaning: A symbol "hints at something not yet known" (p.41) and has an "as if" quality about it. Also for Jung "A symbol always presupposes that the chosen expression is the best possible description or formulation of a relatively unknown fact, which is nonetheless known to exist or is postulated as existing " (Jung, 1971, p.474).

An actual symbol is frequently a known object which is portrayed in such a manner so as to be suggestive of something greater than itself. This extra dimension often lies at the boundary of awareness, but may also be largely unconscious. Because of this, symbols often allow one to give some expression to the verbally inexpressible, i.e. to the ineffable.

Symbolisation is not just about any type of communication. It usually involves communicating something meaningful about oneself (as in some forms of creative art), or about the self as part of a larger whole, i.e., about fostering a sense of communion. This collective sense of self contains both a spatial dimension (e.g. from the local to the global), and a temporal dimension (e.g. from the distant past on eternity). Sacred music and religious art, such as icons, relics and reliquaries spring to mind here as examples of attempted transpersonal symbolisation. This issue shall be addressed later. There can, of course, be an overlap between individual and collective motifs in symbolisation.

Symbolic displays, unlike purely factual and informative communications, tend to be relational and emotionally laden with significance. Transitional objects (such as teddy bears) and self-objects (emotional extensions of the self) are aspects of its development in the context of relating to others (object relations). This aspect shall be further developed later.

Levels of Symbolic Development

The development of symbolisation, like developmental maturation in general, is phasal, involving several overlapping stages. It is postulated here that symbolisation operates in four registers — three of which are quite common, namely the sub-verbal (e.g. hysterical conversions and transitional objects), the verbal (e.g. metaphor), and the para-verbal (e.g. dress, icons, art, music, etc.). Keineman (1997) also referred to three different types of symbols, namely

indexical, conventional (or verbal) and the iconic (or pictorial). Like many writers in this area, he focussed more on conventional symbolisation.

The most primitive level of symbolisation is in the sub-verbal, e.g. somatic, domain. It also operates at a relatively low level of awareness. The most esoteric is probably at a trans-verbal or metaphysical level, which I designate as the fourth register. Although we shall begin with the basic sub-verbal level it must be re-iterated that there is considerable overlap between these four conceptual categories of symbolisation.

We shall first look, very briefly, at symbolisation in an evolutionary context, and thus link its development to increasing maturational complexity. By now it should be clear that, contrary to a common view, there is no simple equivalence between symbolisation and verbalisation. The latter emerges from "inner speech" (Vygotski, 1978) and is only one of several avenues of symbolic expression.

Pre-verbal Symbolisation: An Evolutionary Perspective

Aetiology, using the past to explain the present, is the *sine qua non* of the psychologising sciences — from behaviourism to psychoanalysis. The recent growing interest in evolutionary psychology has added phylogeny (evolutionary history) to our descriptions of causality. Phylogeny can thus be perceived of as the "distal" aspect of causality (DelMonte, 2011). This can be contrasted with ontogeny, one's individual developmental history, which is a description of the "proximate" aspect of causality (Gilbert, 1998a, 1998b).

culminating in the human capacity for complex conceptualisation. Both phylogenetically (i.e. in evolutionary terms) and ontogenetically (developmentally) the "thinking-body" almost certainly developed out of the sensory and affective and feeling body. This would imply that both perception and emotion are primary to thinking (in the non-causal sense). In other words, it is likely that in our evolutionary history (i.e. in our pre-human phylogeny) we were sub-symbolic perceiving and feeling creatures long before we acquired the capacity to think conceptually and to speak. This developmental order certainly applies to our personal histories, in that language skills, which take time to develop, are secondary to our ability to perceive, emote, grunt, posture, gesticulate and grimace in social contexts. One could thus say that our personal developmental history (i.e. our ontogeny) recapitulates our collective history (i.e. our phylogeny). Moreover, via sensation and perception we internalise the world and construct internal representations and models, e.g. as in cognitive constructs and imagery.

It has also been observed that the emotional experiences of infants are largely in auditory, imaginal and visual format, and are disproportionately processed and stored in the right hemisphere of the brain during the formative years of brain ontogeny (Semrud-Clikeman & Hynd, 1990). This non-verbal, somatic, emotional and perceptual aspect of construing the world characterises Freud's "primary process" cognition. The verbal and logical construing which is typical of "secondary process" cognition develops later and is mainly a left brain function. Research evidence shows that the right hemisphere matures before the left, a finding which supports Freud's contention that primary process ontogenetically precedes secondary process functions (Schoré, 2001). Social attachment behaviours and emotions are also largely a right hemisphere regulation of biological synchronicity between (human) organisms (Schoré, 2001).

The evolution of symbolisation from sub-symbolic functioning probably has pre-human origins. In their own primitive way animals communicate with ritualistic repertoires and "fixed action patterns" (Tinbergen, 1965; Lorenz, 1966; Comfort, 1966; Mery, 1971). Displayed patterns are readily "understood" and the recipient feels prompted or provoked to respond in specific ways. Fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals all demonstrate specialised behaviours which tend to trigger desired responses in recipients (Tinbergen, 1966; Lorenz, 1966; Mery, 1971; Dixen, 1998; Gilbert, 1998a, 1998b). It is my contention that mankind also shows archaic vestiges of such interactions, in that particular human displays (e.g. threat, appeasement, seduction, etc.) also tend to precipitate specific emotional and behavioural responses. In this light I envisage both hysterical and projective identification as primitive, sub-verbal, interactive mechanisms, which tend to operate at very low levels of cognitive awareness. I shall next discuss both hysterical identification and projective identification in terms of evolutionary theory, and also as primitive, i.e. primary process, forms of communication, with implications for both object-relations and symbolisation.

Projective Identification

As humans mature, the need to communicate and to symbolise gradually moves from the somatic level on to the socio-verbal. This is a slow process beginning with inner representation and inner speech, but vestiges of non-verbal communication continue to operate to varying degrees in adulthood. Besides hysterical identification (see below), another example of such a vestige is "projective identification" (Melanie Klein, 1946).

Melanie Klein (1946) first introduced the term projective identification. She saw it as being the outcome of defensive splitting, in which mostly, but not

exclusively, "bad" or unwanted aspects of the self are projected into the mother (or later into the therapist), e.g. for controlling, injuring or possessing her. However, Bion (1962, 1970) understood the wider (i.e. non-defensive) use of projective identification and described it as an archaic form of communication - akin to the "archaic vestiges" à la Freud. Neither the projector nor the recipient may be consciously aware of this interaction (Buckingham, 2012).

Initially in humans projective identification emerges in the mother-baby dyad. The pre-verbal infant psychologically projects its needs, desires and wishes, which are picked up by an attuned mother, or care-giver, as vague intuitions and so forth. Although this is largely an unconscious (or primary) process it can occur at borderline levels of cognitive awareness. When the recipient of these projections reciprocates in the direction prompted by the infant then we can describe this mutuality of feeling and reciprocal role behaviour as projective identification (Bion, 1962, 1970; Ryle, 1994). The infant has projected and the mother has identified and complied with it in the desired manner. Although this is largely an unconscious (or pre-conscious) process, one can, over time, develop increasing levels of awareness of this phenomenon.

Such reciprocal role behaviour is also found in many other emotionally laden situations, e.g. between lovers and within social animals. It also frequently re-emerges in the psychotherapy dyad as transference and counter-transference (see later). In the above examples both ego-syntonic and ego-dystonic signals can be projected and unconsciously complied with by the recipient. The recipient of projections can find herself behaving out of character, e.g. by being nudged into having a row, or giving somebody more time in therapy than was intended. With hindsight one can feel manipulated. This is not invariably a disagreeable experience, but one often feels cajoled. However, many Kleinian psychoanalysts continue to see projective identification as (mainly) pathological evacuation of the patient's unwanted psychic contents.

There is much indirect evidence in support for Bion's view that projective identification may be a form of archaic communication. Phylogenetically, our distant hominoid ancestors, like other animals being non-verbal, probably depended on a range of behavioural, facial or acoustic displays in order to communicate. Many basic communicative display patterns have been described, e.g. care eliciting, care seeking, care giving, mate selection, alliance formation, ranking threats, submission, dependence, sexual attraction, sexual availability, jealousy, aggression, fear, and so forth (Gilbert, 1998a; 1998b). Such displays trigger strong urges to respond in approach or avoidance ways. This is not surprising as phylogenetically there would have operated strong selective forces in favour of reciprocal social behaviour, i.e. in favour of

primitive non-verbal object-relations. All was not brute competition. Co-operation became increasingly important - especially in terms of group survival.

Projection and projective identification thus represent very primitive forms of communication and symbolisation. However, there are other non-verbal forms of symbolisation, as found in phobias (e.g., snake, coitus and darkness phobias), obsessive-compulsions (e.g., ritual hand washing, compulsive cleaning and checking), and hysteria (e.g., hysterical blindness, paralysis and mutism). We shall next look at hysteria in some more detail.

Hysterical Identification

As should be obvious by now, non-verbal symbolisation is not confined to the use of external objects, as our own bodies can be "used" symbolically. We do not always need language to communicate our internal experiences, as somatic symbolisation is a powerful means of achieving this. Psychodynamic "hysterical conversions", such as hysterical seizures, 'glove and stocking' anaesthesia, hysterical dumbness, and "group hysteria", etc, spring to mind here as rather dramatic examples (Freud 1912, 1930; Szasz, 1972). This capacity for symbolisation at the somatic level is, in evolutionary terms, phylogenetically primitive, and can also be seen in animal behaviour. Such behaviour is often socially cohesive or coercive and, thus, adaptive.

In the absence of language a capacity for "hysterical", or rather collective, identification allows groups of animals to behave as if they had a "group mind", for example, shoals of fish and dolphins, and flocks of birds or sheep (McDougall, 1921). In this way social animals can share perceptions and affect e.g. when fleeing from danger, feeding, roosting and mating. Humans, although retaining this capacity, do not need to rely on such "hysterical" identification in order to share feelings, i.e. to show "compassion", "sympathy" or empathy. With humans this phenomenon has also been referred to as "collective cognition" (Couzin, 2008).

Hysterical identification is conceptually similar to the Kleinian construct of "introjective identification" (Klein, 1946). The latter probably conveys a more acceptable, i.e. more neutral, image than the popular and traditional connotations associated with "hysteria". However, Klein saw introjective identification as being primarily, but not exclusively, a process of psychologically internalising the benevolent aspects (or "good parts") of others. I prefer to envisage such introjective identification in less value-laden terms, by stressing its communicative, object-relations and socially adaptive functions. For example, the capacity for a mother to perceive accurately her pre-verbal infant's distress, pain, needs and so forth, is based on the potential

for the emotional attunement inherent in introjective identification. Empathy can grow out of such an identificatory process – as does a capacity for “mentalisation” and for developing a “theory of mind” (Giovanni & Gilbert, 2011; Fonagy et al., 2011). Without the development of these capacities object relations are seriously limited.

Co-ontogeny, Identification and Transference

Our maturational development is never in social isolation. We thus can describe it as a co-ontogeny. The mother-child dyad is one such affiliative co-ontogeny. So are long-term partnerships, a cohort of siblings, peer groups, and so forth. Phylogenetically, any ease in non-verbal communication would have been selectively advantageous. Pheromones (olfactory hormones) would thus be included here too. More importantly, those of us who learned to read subtle “body language” cues mediated by bodily posturing, facial grimacing, limb gesticulation, mood displays, etc, would have had a social, and thus a selective and survival advantage over the socially less discerning. In summary, it paid to be cute, cunning, sensitive and socially alert (Nesse, 1998, Gilbert, 1998a, 1998b).

Natural selection has thus ensured that we are psycho-neurologically “wired up” to display, and be responsive to, somato-social signals or cues. This sometimes operates at a conscious level, e.g. as in empathy, but it can also occur at lower levels of awareness – right down to the unconscious – as is more typical of both projective and introjective identification. In other words, we do not always need to be conscious of our communications. However, such adaptive unconscious communication differs somewhat from the repressed unconscious, in that repression is a psychological defence, and is thus typically furtive rather than communicative in nature. I prefer to refer to unconscious communication as part of a psycho-neurological spectrum stretching from the pre-conscious down to the (unrepressed) deep unconscious.

The mother-child dyad is the co-ontogenetic prototype of coupling behaviour. The “symbiosis” typical of this nurturing dyad is the crucible or wellspring from which intimacy and affiliation in later adulthood is formed (Bailey & Wood, 1998). This basic relationship is characterised by both introjective and projective identification between mother and child and, as already suggested, is not necessarily as defensive as some Kleinians propose. Rather such projections and introjections serve relational functions with objects, i.e. with people – be they real or imagined.

Mothers and their infants do not need to process all their communications consciously (i.e. at the secondary process level) in order for them to be effective.

The same is true of lovers - hence the so-called "irrational" nature of love ("love is blind"). Just as mothers may feel "manipulated" by their infants, psychotherapists can feel similarly manipulated by their patients. Again, this is not necessarily pathological, but it could nevertheless qualify as "primitive", in that it mostly operates at a low level of awareness.

Freud, of course, was aware of such manipulation in the clinical setting and he referred to this non-verbal correspondence between patient and psychoanalyst as the transference and the counter-transference (Freud, 1900, 1912, 1930). The transference and counter-transference interaction is indicative of unconscious or pre-conscious inter-subjective communication between analyst and analysand. As such it contains aspects of pre-verbal symbolisation, in that particular displays (projections) tend to trigger specific responses at low levels of cognitive awareness. A tendency for this sort of inter-subjective coupling was probably inherited from our phylogenetic past, and retained as co-ontogenetic repertoires - such as found in the mother-infant dyad. This natural affiliative tendency has been referred to as "natural transference" by proponents of "kinship therapy" (Bailey & Wood, 1998).

In sum, both projective identification, and hysterical (introjective) identification, being forms of non-verbal communication are usually sub-conscious, primitive, but nevertheless "normal" means of somato-social communication and manipulation. They both involve movement towards inter-subjective symmetrisation à la Matte Blanco (Matte Blanco, 1988). Thus the greater the mutual mental attunement attained within the dyad the greater the symmetry. This phenomenon has its "pros and cons" in that it can facilitate improved empathy, but it can also lead to a "folie à deux" fusion. Moreover, such communication can become pathological, for example, when the more conscious aspects of symbolisation fail to develop adequately as one grows up. When there is a failure to thrive psychosocially communication may largely remain at, or in crises revert to, the primary process and somatic level. Such somatisation is typically characterised by psychosomatic and hysterical disorders.

Somatoform Disorders

As already mentioned there can be problems in the development of higher order symbolisation. We can thus look at the field of psychosomatic and hysterical disorders where complaints and conflicts are often symbolically manifested in a somatic format. Patients with psychosomatic symptoms tend to be very concrete in their presentation of complaints, due to a rudimentary level of fantasy and a difficulty with verbal symbolisation. In discussing disorders

involving psychosomatic symptoms, Kelly (1955) illustrates how the "mind-body" construct can be applied pre-emptively by such patients. This is where people typically show a strong "mind-body" split. The difficulty lies in unnuanced, concrete and dualistic thinking. The person is unable to construe herself as a whole because the body is construed in a "mechanical" manner and the area of mind is construed largely as a separate (i.e. split off) entity. A solution, according to Kelly, for overcoming such mind/body dualism is to be found in (adaptive) regression to early forms of preverbal thinking - "only at that primitive level may we find that the mind and the body were not pre-emptively separated" (Kelly, 1955, p.921). There are several pathways to achieving such adaptive regression - such as found in psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, meditation and hypnosis (DelMonte, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2012).

Pre-verbal construing originates in earliest infancy in order to make sense of those elements of life encountered by the infant in its growth and development. If people later get into serious difficulty while using their more adult construing, their last line of defence is often mal-adaptive regression to the pre-verbal sense-making of infancy, with its attendant infantile dependency. Hence we often find psychosomatic symptomatology accompanying strong unfulfilled dependency needs. Hysterical symptomatology, likewise associated with dependency needs, often symbolises (painful) unconscious conflicts and deficits, which one defensively avoids because of inherent feelings of shame or guilt.

The psychoanalyst Hogan (1995) presents an interesting comparison between hysterical somatoform conversions, which he sees as post-oedipally symbolic, and the more primitive pre-oedipal psychosomatic disorders which, he claims, operate at a lower (i.e. somatic) level of symbolism, with less conscious control. For Hogan, psychosomatic disease of the gut can either represent psychosexual developmental arrest at the oral-anal (i.e. "gut") level, or an emotional regression back to the pre-genital phase following a perceived threat to one's security. In this respect Hogan sees the alexithymia of many psychosomatic patients as a defence against the shame felt about conflictual fantasies and aggressive feelings by blocking their conscious verbalisation. Instead these negative impulses are directed inwards to produce "masochistic gratification in the pain of psychosomatic symptoms" (p.103). This masochism, coupled with alexithymia and/or other defensive postures, makes psychosomatic disorders difficult but not impossible to treat (Hogan, 1995; DelMonte, 1995, 1998, 1999). Luckily, most people manage to move beyond the dependency and somatic symbolisation of sub-verbal infancy to develop verbal and para-verbal symbolic expression such as artistic painting or music. But this journey requires some emotional support.

Transitional Objects

As is clear from the above discussion thus far, the capacity for primitive symbolic expression commences in pre-verbal childhood. We are all familiar with the observation that infants can demonstrate strong emotional attachment to objects like an old blanket. Such items have been called "transitional objects" by Winnicott (1971). He saw such pieces of old blanket as representing "the infant's transition from a state of being merged with the mother to a state of being in relation to the mother as something outside and separate" (pp.14-15). Transitional objects are thus "symbolical of some part-object, such as the breast" (p.6). We can thus conclude that the use of transitional objects is normal and healthy at the pre-genital stage.

Objects are objects (including people) "out there" that are experienced emotionally as being an extended part of the self. In this sense both self-objects and transitional objects are functionally symbolic. However, self-objects can be both pre and post-oedipal. Transitional objects, in particular, are perceived as symbolising a desire to maintain some felt unity between a child and its mother, while taking its first steps towards separation. Here the transitional object, a pre-verbal (often oral) symbol, functions to reduce separation anxiety by "communicating" to the child a sense of remaining in touch with its principal care-giver. Religious art and artefacts, depicting a caring God, benevolent saints or guardian angels who watch over and protect us, fulfils a similar emotional function for many religious people.

Wright (1998) has argued that transitional objects only occupy a transitional place in symbolic development as they are "not yet separate enough to be fully fledged symbols" (p.453). By fully-fledged symbols Wright has verbal symbols in mind, reflecting a discernible stance, found among many psychoanalysts, valuing verbal to non-verbal symbolisation.

According to Winnicott fetishes can be seen as transitional objects which have been carried forward into the post-genital phase. (Also see Stone, 1965, 1972). Likewise male transvestism probably betrays a lingering need to remain erotically attached to mother by means of transitional objects in the form of female clothing.

Symbolic Castration

Francoise Dalto linked symbol formation to successful psychodynamic "castration" in the psychoanalytic sense (Dalto, 1982). An important step in this journey is the psychological rupture of the "umbilical connection" which Dalto referred to as "umbilical castration". Its failure leads to unresolved

fusional states of dependency between mother and child, which, according to Dalto, can later manifest as "psychoses" and "phobias". I assume that agoraphobia and panic disorder are included here.

The first step in separation seen to be conducive to symbol formation by Dalto is "oral castration" - as linked to weaning and its sequelae - the first move away from maternal dependency. Then comes "anal castration" via toilet training with its focus on cleanliness, control and order. Finally, there is the classical or phallic castration via resolution of the Oedipus complex, when, for example, a little boy acknowledges that the main romantic bond is between his parents by giving up his primary claim to mother.

Dalto sees the pleasure linked to oral, anal and phallic drives as capable of being "inserted into a longer circuit" (by postponed gratification), and thereby acquiring some symbolic expression. The primitive tendency towards a short circuit satisfaction of drives is, initially, elongated into a longer circuit by way of transitional objects as described above. Successful "symbolic castration", according to Dalto, leads to instinctual drives being given satisfaction and expression at a higher level of symbolism. A few obvious examples readily come to mind here. To begin with, oral drives can be satisfied in speech, singing, literature, poetry, and the like. Anal drives can be transformed into manual skills, as in handicrafts, pottery and sculpture as well as into hygienic and organisational needs. Phallic drives can be expressed in exhibitionistic professions such as ballet, acrobatics, acting and, maybe, even in football. Dalto stresses that such symbolic castration should not be conducted in a brutal or frustrating way by harsh parenting, i.e., by a "castrating" father. Infantile strivings for pleasure and satisfaction should gradually and caringly be transmuted, rather than suppressed aggressively.

Sublimation

Dalto's position is essentially Freudian. The extension of short-circuit satisfaction into a longer circuit via the insertion of transitional objects should eventually lead on to the sublimation, in the Freudian sense, of basic drives into higher order symbolic activity. For Freud, the creative arts owe their existence to the sublimation of instinctual impulses (Freud, 1930). However, not everybody is content to see symbolisation and creativity in this light. Anthony Storr (1972, 1992) has argued against the view that Freudian sublimation is the sole source of our creativity.

However, Storr does concede that schizoid and obsessional personality structures, with their characteristic defences allow, in part at least, for particular manifestations of creativity via sublimation. Of particular interest to

symbolisation are obsessional rituals. Storr argues that when "a child begins to perform his own rituals, he is asserting his ability to protect himself against the dangers of both outer and inner worlds, rather than demanding that his parents shall do it for him. The rituals are serving the function of easing the transition from the complete dependency of earliest childhood to the partial independence of the latency period" (Storr, 1972, p.128).

So here we see rituals as performing a role similar to that of transitional objects. However, as adulthood proceeds such obsessional rituals become increasingly symbolised. Thus the ritual is more than a means of defence - "but also a means of transmuting instinctive impulses to give them expression in less direct and more acceptable ways" (Storr, 1972, p.144). This is akin to Dalto's observation that such impulses can be put on a long-circuit - or "sustained" as Heimann (1950) described it. Given the obsessionals' distaste for, and distancing attitude towards, basic impulses such as aggression and sexuality it is not surprising that many creatively gifted people like Stravinsky were highly obsessional (Storr, 1972).

Dreaming and Verbal Symbolisation

No discussion on symbolism can side-step dreaming. Dreaming is replete with symbolic function. Freud (1900), and later Jung (1964), wrote extensively on the symbolism inherent in dreaming. It is not my intention to review their extensive writings here as this has been done so often before. In brief, it can be argued that dreaming facilitates the conversion of somatic construing (e.g. instinctual impulses, wishes and desires) into a post-somatic level of expression. Freud would have seen dreaming as a "primary process" and thus closely linked to other unconscious processes including somatisation. Reflecting on the primary process symbolic contents of our dreams, often facilitated by "dream interpretation" during analysis, facilitates their symbolisation at a verbal level, and such rational, conscious verbalisation is characteristic of the Freudian "secondary process". Of course, secondary process thinking usually develops naturally, and its genesis does not require dream interpretation! Symbolisation in dreams helps to facilitate internal psychic responsivity and accommodation to the demands of object relations. In other words, the pleasure principle or wish fulfilment aspect of dream symbolisation partially submits to the "reality principle" while dreaming (Freud, 1900, 1912, 1930).

The transition from primary to secondary process representation is an important step in symbolic development. As I mentioned, somatic symbolisation, being sub-verbal is seen as primary process sense-making and communication. Initially, as infants, we construe all reality at the pre-verbal, perceptual and

somatic level. Then one increasingly goes on to construct a sense of social reality at the level of linguistic symbolism - namely by developing cognitive constructs (or secondary process cognition in Freudian terms). Hence, the "talking body" emerges out of an embodied sensory-affective infancy - bathed in a social context, i.e. in the Symbolic Order (Lacan, 1966). I have already referred to a similar process occurring in evolution.

Lacan and the Symbolic Order

In evolutionary terms both projective and introjective identification, as well as "linguaging", are adaptive insofar as they facilitate inter-subjective communion. The difference between identification and "linguaging" is that speech can operate at a much "higher" and more abstract level of symbolism, and represents an adaptation to the "Symbolic Order" (society) à la Lacan. Lacan (1966) in his writings dealt with three orders - the "Real", the "Imaginary" and the "Symbolic". Put very simply, the "Real" is the given, but essentially unknowable, unsymbolisable reality in all its complexity stretching beyond human perception; the "Imaginary" is a mentally constructed, personal, inner representational world; and entering into the "Symbolic" order is operating within the stipulations of social reality, which is enriched by the use of verbal (and other) symbols in our direct and not so direct communications.

Society and Verbal Symbolisation

As already stated, one gradually learns to use language in a social context. In order to talk with others about experiences (e.g. feelings of anger, envy or nausea) we need to use verbal labels ("putting verbal form on feelings"). The usage of such labels means that much primary sense-making gradually acquires a secondary, i.e. cognitive or more abstract overlay, as we build up our inner worlds in response to external demands. Their contents can be expressed via complex languaging behaviour with its attendant verbal symbolisation. Among its richest expressions are found the exquisite works of literary genius, such as those of Dante, Shakespeare, and Proust. The symbolism of poetry adds an extra, looser, dimension to language that is often more difficult to express in straight prose.

Mathematical symbols, being verbalisable, can be seen as a special category of verbal symbols. These range from common everyday numerals, to complex algebraic equations, geometric formulae, and on to the complex formulae of theoretical physics, with their more specialised social application.

Psychological maturation is a complex process involving adaptation to the social domain in which we are immersed. For harmonious socialisation we need empathy, and for empathy we need to develop a personal "theory of mind". Fonagy, et al. (1991, 1994) saw the development of a "theory of mind" as emergent from our interactive attachment behaviour with caring others. Being increasingly able to understand one's own inner world facilitates our ability to "read" the wishes, intentions and feelings of others. Increasing competence and fluency within the mental domain - both between and within people - has been called "mentalisation", and is linked very broadly to mental well-being on a wide of indicators (Fonagy, et al., 2011).

Not only do we have to learn to empathise, we also need to learn to communicate sensitively our own intentions, desires and feelings. Symbolic expression can greatly enrich and deepen our reaching out behaviour. With enhanced emotional maturity there is a parallel developmental sophistication in our capacity to symbolise within the social domain.

Para-verbal Symbolisation

So far we have focussed, in the main, on symbolisation at both the pre-verbal (somatic) and verbal levels. However, iconic symbolisation can side-step the verbal. It is, in part, concerned with imagery and is found in the visual arts such as painting, sculpture and, of course, architecture. But artistic symbolisation is not confined to the visual arts. It also finds expression in the wide varieties of music which have existed throughout the ages.

Symbolisation has always been inherent to the arts. This is still the case today as there is so much of value here that is not readily within the expressive reach of the empirical sciences. The logical positivism (Compte, 1855) of the scientific method of inquiry can not be applied easily to so much of what is culturally pertinent to us - as not everything is easily subjected to measurement (DelMonte, 1999). "A symbol, by its very nature, refers to an absent reality" (Gibson, 1995, p.21). Artistic symbolisation attempts to reach "beyond the narrow field of the given" (Gibson, p. 22), to give expression to an unknown quality in human experience. We need symbols to help communicate those aspects of life that fall outside of the competence of the language and methods of science.

Artistic symbolisation over the ages has covered a very broad range of expression and has also served many functions. At a basic level it can be seen as no more than a substitute (compensation) for those who have difficulty verbalising their internal representations and emotions, as may be found with some musicians and painters. However, much symbolisation can also be an

expression of the verbally ineffable and of sheer genius, as witnessed in the works of individuals such as Ludwig van Beethoven and Rembrandt van Rijn.

Trans-verbal

Is there symbolisation pointing beyond the "hic et nunc" (here and now) of the embodied domain and beyond the ephemerality of uttered speech, or pointing beyond the fashion-dependent latest craze in art or music? In other words, does symbolisation ever hint at a transcendent reality, to enter the felt timelessness and unboundedness of spirituality? In my view universal symbols which appear to survive the test of time, i.e. which "speak" to us regardless of place or time, no matter where or when they were produced, can be labelled transcendental. They are also archetypal in the Jungian sense (Jung, 1958, 1964). Here one is less concerned with communication but more with communion. Whereas words facilitate the former, a sense of communion can be fostered non-verbally (DelMonte, 1995). Historically, most artistic symbols were religious and more concerned with "why" rather than "how" questions. They had the purpose of uniting the world of the senses with that of the meta-physical and the spiritual, as, for example, in early Celtic spirituality (Streit, 1984). Celtic crosses come to mind here, with the horizontal line symbolising the Earth, the vertical line the Heavens, and the circle Divine Unity.

Some lines of poetry, works of art and pieces of music shall continue to strike a chord with many of us as they constitute "texts" which are less context-bound. Their relevance does not depend on the latest fashions in art, music or poetry. They also tend towards the ineffable. In a way, such symbols are unchanging and are less time-dependent. In a metaphorical sense they are neither of the body nor of the mind – yet they resonate therein. In sum, they can be seen as metaphysical.

The spiritual domain, purportedly, lies beyond the physical, mental and social domains. The Chinese call it "Yuan Shen" - the source of life lying beyond conceptualisation. Being ineffable, Yuan Shen is beyond words - and thus cannot be verbally symbolised (DelMonte, 1999). Bion referred to this ultimate unknowable reality as "O", and as the "absolute truth", the "infinite" and the "thing-in-itself" (Bion, 1970, p. 26). For Lacan (1966) this is the "Real". Matte Blanco (1988) would call this the domain of "absolute symmetry" where no contrasts or distinctions can be cognitively discerned. All of this suggests that the spiritual can only be loosely symbolised para-verbally, e.g. with music, dance, painting, and the like. Such symbols are no more than "fingers" pointing in a vague direction and hinting at a reality beyond human perception. The mystical quality of the spiritual domain leaves its apologists

open to the charge of solipsism. But given the brevity of our individual lives, humankind shall remain curious about the transpersonal, i.e., about the eternal and the infinite.

In both Oriental and Christian meditation mantras are seen to have transpersonal symbolic value. They can be envisaged as being utilised as transitional "objects" between the self and the non-self (or spiritual domain). In other words, mantras as transitional objects serve a transcendental function, helping to release the mind from ego grasping, so as to achieve the "no-mind" tranquillity, beyond all symbolisation (DelMonte, 1995, 1998).

Summary and Conclusions

Symbolisation is a bridge between subjective internal psychic reality and the demands of external object-relations. Its development begins in pre-verbal infancy. Both introjective and projective identification are aspects of pre-verbal, primary process (i.e. rudimentary) symbolic communication. Symbolisation may in certain circumstances, become stuck at the pre-verbal level as with somatoform disorders. However, most individuals develop a reasonably sophisticated capacity for verbal symbolisation with a progressive unfolding of their linguistic skills. Verbalisation is an expression of conscious, secondary process symbolisation, but it rarely escapes the assistance of non-verbal cues as found in posturing, grimacing, gesticulating and miming.

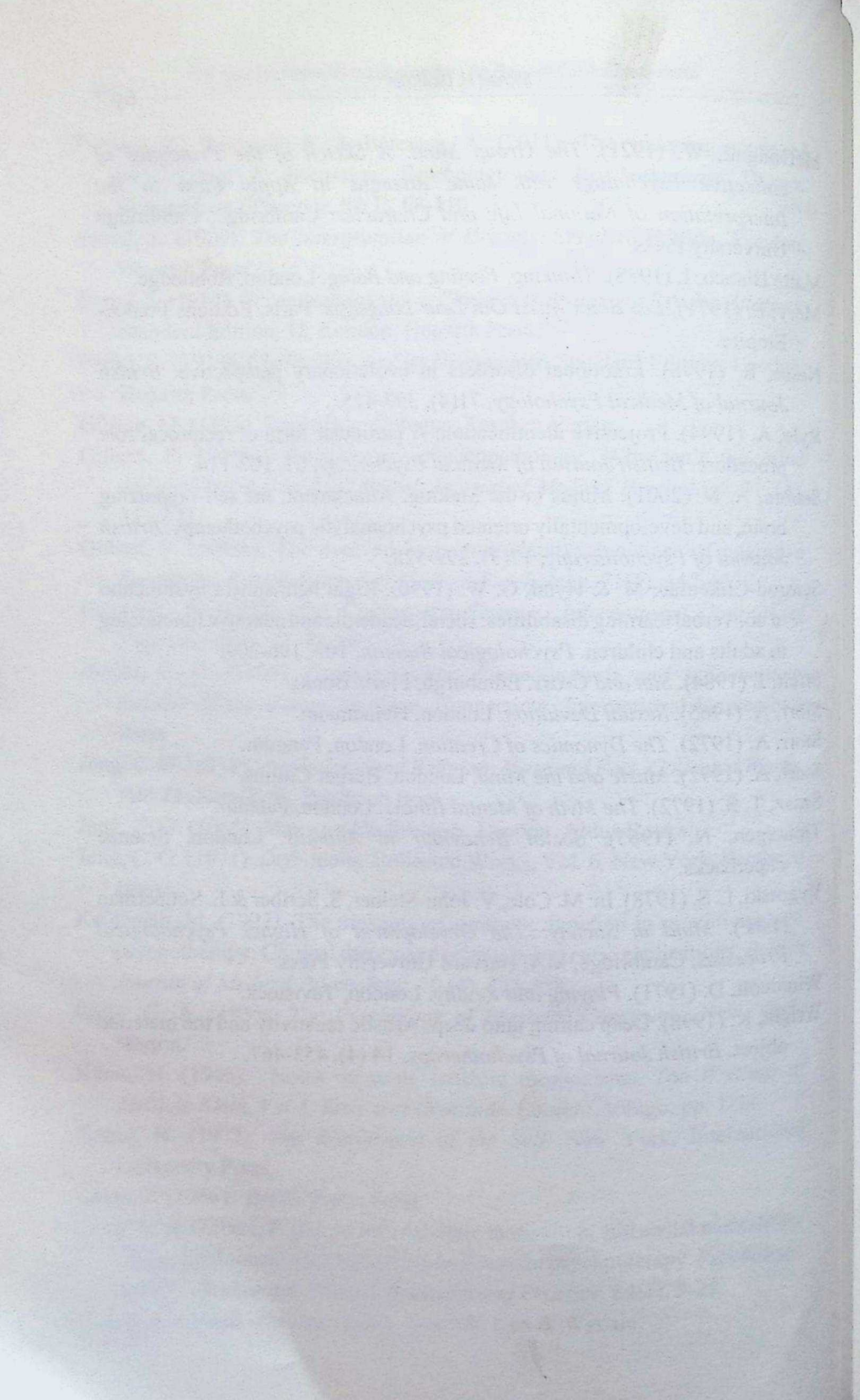
Many individuals, however, rely less on verbalisation and feel a greater affinity for the symbolic value of painting, sculpture and music. Such paraverbal symbolic expression is further developed in the domain of trans-verbal symbolisation - its ultimate expression? Symbolic expression encompasses a huge range, in that it strives to express that which lies beyond or below self-evident reality. Herein we include the repressed unconscious, the psycho-neurological (adaptive) unconscious, the pre-conscious, and the trans-conscious. The latter transcendent quality of symbolism is the essence of the age-old ineffable mystical experiences which have both perplexed the enriched the human condition. But there are limits to what can be symbolised. Symbols can only point in the direction of the Real - but can never be equated with it.

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INVESTIGATING ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS ON THEIR OWN TERMS: A PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF STATE-SPECIFIC SCIENCES¹

Charles T. Tart²

Scientific investigation obtains a great deal of its power through specialized and intensive focus on narrowly delineated aspects of reality. The (usually temporary) price of such intense focus may be blindness to other important aspects of the world. This is now obvious in the case of consciousness: *the consciousness of the individual scientist is far and away her or his most important instrument*, yet for much of the last century the study of consciousness *per se* was considered outside of the purview of empirical science (except for studies trying to reduce aspects of consciousness to brain functioning). The last decade has seen a radical change in attitude, with the importance of questions about the nature and functioning of consciousness now being recognized in a wide variety of scientific and scholarly disciplines. This is well illustrated by such events as the first University of Arizona Tucson conference, "Toward a Science of Consciousness," whose published proceedings run to 790 pages (Hameroff, Kaszniak, & Scott, 1996), with more than a thousand

1. This is an updated and expanded version of a paper, States of consciousness and state-specific sciences, which appeared in *Science*, 1972, volume 176, pp. 1203-1210. Another version has been published in: *Ciencia e Cultura (Journal of the Brazilian Association for the Advancement of Science)*, 1998, 50, 2/3 March/June 1998, pp. 103-116.

2. I want to thank Imants Barušs, Arthur Deikman, Arthur Hastings, Leon Maurer, Don McCarthy, Thomas J. McFarlane, Jonathan Reams, Judy Tart and Max Velmans, whose supportive and critical feedback on an earlier version of this paper resulted in considerable improvement. I regret that time limits have not allowed me to incorporate all of their useful suggestions into this paper. I also want to acknowledge the support of the Bigelow Chair of Consciousness Studies, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, as this paper was written during my tenure in that Chair.

scientists attending the second 1996 conference³; by the popularity of the *Journal of Consciousness Studies*; and by the necessity of the online discussion section of that journal⁴ being forced to limit posts to a maximum of six per day so as to not overload the moderator.

A strong root of this resurgence of interest has been the widespread personal experiencing of altered states of consciousness (ASCs). In the 1960s an important source of this was personal experience of both laymen and scientists with psychedelic drugs. Lately near-death experiences (NDEs) have sparked considerable interest⁵, as well as an enormous increase in people practicing various meditative disciplines in the West. Such roots of interest illustrate another very important point: *consciousness is not just of academic and scientific interest: consciousness is our very mode of being and the source of the values by which we live our life*. This is often especially true for experiences of ASCs: a brief ASC like an NDE, e.g., can alter a person's life and values (for better or worse) far more than years of education or psychotherapy. To apply only reductionistic explanations to ASCs, as in the popular approach to NDEs of hypothesizing (with very little evidence) that they are due to nothing but some sort of brain chemical causing hallucinations, might have some truth in it, but in terms of human life it is rather like saying that a Picasso painting is due to nothing but putting pigments on canvas. If we do not thoroughly investigate consciousness, we suffer from a basic blindness about our lives and values, a blindness that exacts a high penalty.

While there has been some research to date on ASC, conventional research has not looked much at primary ASC effects *per se*, viz. the feelings of novel and valuable insights into both world and self experienced by many experiencers of ASCs (Tart 1970, 1971). Scientists are primarily motivated by a search for understanding, so something promising new insights and understandings was of interest within parts of the general scientific community, mainly students and younger scientists. Interest was great enough that my *Altered States of*

3. The 1996 Tucson conference volume was still in press when this paper was first submitted but is now available as Hameroff, S., Kaszniak, A. & Scott, A. (Eds) (1996) *Toward a Science of Consciousness: The First Tucson Discussions and Debates*.

4. Anyone can subscribe to jcs-online by sending the message "SUBSCRIBE JCS-ONLINE" as the only text in the body of a message emailed to majordomo@lists.zynet.co.uk.

5. This is most interesting culturally. Many of the Greek founders we trace our rational traditions to were also initiates of one of the prominent mystery religions, the Elusynian mysteries, where inducing something like an NDE as a form of gnosis was central. Because of the enormous advances of modern medicine in resuscitation, it has been estimated that about eight million people have been accidentally "initiated" into the Elusynian mysteries (without preparation, of course) in the last few decades. Most primary research on NDEs is published in the 15 year old *Journal of Near-Death Studies* (Human Sciences Press, 233 Spring St., New York NY 10013-1578).

Consciousness anthology (Tart, 1969) became something of a scientific best seller, and it was used as a text in hundreds of college courses on altered states in the early 1970s.

This interest in consciousness went fairly dormant during the 1980s, partly as a reaction to the general indiscriminating cultural hysteria about psychoactive drug use, partly because many areas of science were not ready to start investigating consciousness in spite of the strong personal convictions of those who had experienced ASCs. In particular, a proposal for the creation of *state-specific sciences* that I published in *Science* in 1972 (Tart, 1972) turned out to be premature. A major reason for this prematurity was a deep cultural bias, revealed in the approximately one hundred letters to the editor submitted to *Science*, that rationality is only possible in our ordinary, so-called normal, state of consciousness. I believe conditions are now much more favorable for this method of studying consciousness on its own terms (in addition to reductionistic approaches: see, e.g., (McFarlane, 1996), so this article is a updated presentation of this proposal. Although I focus on ASCs, the discussion herein is applicable to the study of consciousness in general.

I propose that both our understanding of consciousness *per se* and our understanding of reality in general can be enhanced by developing sciences that involve the use of essential scientific methods within various ASCs, viz. *state-specific sciences*. Such a development is compatible with essential science, although not with some current paradigmatic forms of science.

States of Consciousness

A "state" of consciousness, an SoC, may be defined as a usefully distinctive organizational pattern of the components of consciousness. An "altered" state is then a qualitative, as well as perhaps a quantitative, alteration in the overall pattern of mental functioning relative to some SoC chosen as a baseline (usually ordinary consciousness), such that the experiencer feels her consciousness is qualitatively (and often radically) different from the way it functions in the baseline state.

To illustrate, I sometimes ask a class of students if anyone wants to argue that their current experience might actually be a nocturnal dream. After all, it is common for students to dream about being in a classroom. A few people will sometimes want to argue that this might indeed be the case, for some components of their current experience could be experienced in their dreams. But when I ask if they are willing to bet fifty dollars that they will wake up at home in bed in a few minutes, no one takes the bet. Within waking consciousness, it is almost always obvious that the pattern, the gestalt of mental

functioning currently being experienced, the current SoC, is clearly different from that remembered as characterizing the ASC of dreaming. In general, across the spectrum of experiential reports, some ASCs are reported to be as different as the states of, for example, water, viz. solid, liquid or gaseous, while the differences between others are more subtle but still of consequence for styles of perception, cognition and functioning.

There is usually an observable induction process (Tart, 1975) to destabilize the baseline SoC from which one starts and to guide the formation of the desired ASC. Asking a person to imagine being relaxed and to be non-critical in thinking, e.g., is part of the typical process to induce hypnosis. Another example is how someone may sit in a special posture and focus attention on the breath in the hopes of inducing a meditative ASC. In general destabilizing forces reduce the stability of the baseline state, a chaotic-like transition develops, patterning forces affect the components and gestalt of the new ASC and stabilizing forces maintain it. But, like most skills, the induction process can be so overlearned and automatized that transition to an ASC can be almost instantaneous⁶. This rapid transition to and functioning in an ASC can sometimes become so familiar that the person does not consciously recognize that they are in an ASC.

While the concept of an ASC can be refined well beyond what is needed in this article (see my (Tart, 1975), such as conceptualizing SoCs from a systems theory approach and/or as constituting a *world simulation process*, or a *biological-psychological virtual reality* (Tart, 1987, 1991), it is also a common sense concept applied to widespread personal experience. Almost all ordinary people experience the ASC of nocturnal dreaming, for example. Many have experienced the ASCs of alcohol intoxication (not just the mild effects of light drinking on ordinary consciousness) ASCs induced by other drugs like marijuana. Experiencers of NDEs perceive their consciousness functioning in a drastically altered manner. I also believe that any strong emotional state (rage, depression, ecstasy, etc.) can be usefully conceptualized as an ASC. Other ASCs include those loosely characterized as hypnosis, meditation-induced states, sensory-isolation induced states, mediumistic and possession trance, reverie, shamanic states, guided visualization, and channeling states.

6. If we could observe our own mental processes well enough we would probably find that "ordinary" consciousness is often a series of rapid and automated transitions between a variety of discrete SoCs, all within the range considered normal, but we need not make that distinction in this article.

Kuhnian Paradigms and States of Consciousness

My concept of SoCs and ASCs, that they are qualitatively distinct organizations of the patterning of mental (both perceptual and evaluative) functioning, has strong parallels with Thomas Kuhn's (Kuhn, 1961) concept of *paradigms* in science. A paradigm is an intellectual achievement that underlies normal science and attracts and guides the work of an enduring number of adherents in their scientific activity. It is a kind of "super theory," a formulation of scope wide enough to bring about the useful organization of most or all of the major known phenomena of its field. Yet it is sufficiently open-ended that there still remain important problems to be solved *within* that framework. Examples of important paradigms in the history of science have been Copernican astronomy, Newtonian dynamics, Darwinian evolution and quantum theory.

Because of their tremendous success, paradigms undergo a change which, in principle, ordinary scientific theories do not undergo. An ordinary scientific theory is always tentative, always subject to further questioning and testing as it is extended. A paradigm undergoes a psychological shift, it becomes a largely implicit framework for most scientists working within it; it becomes the "natural" way of looking at things and doing things. It does not seriously occur to the adherents of a paradigm to question it any more (we ignore, for the moment, what happens during scientific revolutions). Theories become referred to as "laws:" students are taught the Law of gravity, not the theory of gravity, for example.

A paradigm serves to concentrate the attention of researchers on "sensible" (by the paradigm's logic) problem areas and to prevent her from wasting time on what might be unimportant. On the other hand, by explicitly and implicitly defining some lines of research as "trivial" or "nonsensical," a paradigm acts like a set of blinders. Kuhn has discussed this blinding function as a key factor in the lack of effective communications during paradigm clashes.

The concept of a paradigm and of an SoC have many similarities. Both constitute complex, interlocking sets of procedural rules and theories that enable a person to interact with and interpret experiences within an environment. In both cases, the rules and theories become largely implicit. They are not recognized as tentative working hypotheses; they operate automatically and the person feels she is doing the obvious or natural thing. How the world is "naturally" perceived is especially important. Modern psychological and neurological research has shown that perception is not a simple and "natural" given but highly affected by, semi-arbitrarily constructed by, both nervous system structure and psychological and cultural conditioning. The old saying "Seeing is believing" is only part of the story, for believing is also seeing. Both

an SoC or a paradigm can literally control the automatized construction of perceiving and evaluating such that experience does seem to "obviously" confirm the tenets of the SoC or the paradigm. In Ptolemaic astronomy, the "obvious" retrograde motion of planets is seen as actual movement of the planet, in Copernican astronomy it is obviously an "illusion" caused by the motion of the earth. Experiencing an ASC is thus of considerable interest in essential science because it is analogous to suddenly seeing the world through the construction process of another paradigm.

Paradigm Clash

We tend to become emotionally attached to the things which give us pleasure, and a scientist making important progress within a particular paradigm can become emotionally attached to it, as well as being rewarded with peer approval, promotion, publication access to prestigious journals, etc. When data which make no sense in terms of current paradigm are brought to our attention, the usual result is not a reevaluation of the paradigm, but a rejection or misperception of such data. This rejection seems rational to others sharing that paradigm and irrational to others committed to a different paradigm. Einstein's rejection of some of the implications of quantum theory is a well known example, with many colleagues sharing Einstein's "sensible" position, even though his convictions about the nature of reality here were eventually disproved by experiments.

In spite of the current resurgence of scientific interest in consciousness, there is still frequent conflict of a paradigmatic sort between those whose approach is based solely on mainstream, usually physicalistic, paradigms and those who also want scientific investigation to progress but who have experienced the alternative paradigmatic points of view that can come from personal experience of various ASCs.

Consider, as a dramatic example, a subject in an experiment involving a deep meditative state producing the unity experience. The subject may tell the investigator that "You and I, all beings, are all one, there are no separate selves!" The investigator "perceives" and is likely to report that her subject showed a "confused sense of identity and distorted thinking processes," or "showed poor reality contact." The subject is reporting what is "obvious" to him, the investigator is reporting what is "obvious" to her. The investigator's implicit paradigm, based on her scientific training, her cultural background, and her normal SoC, is physicalistic, a world view in which the investigator and subject are discrete physical entities with no energetic or physical connection other than the indirect one of verbal exchange, a "real" condition

enormously short of reaching "unity." Her paradigm indicates that a literal interpretation of the subject's statement can not be true, and therefore *must* be interpreted as mental dysfunction on the part of the subject. The subject, his paradigms radically changed for the moment by being in an ASC, not only reports what is obviously true to him, but perceives the investigator as showing mental dysfunction, by virtue of being incapable of perceiving the obvious!

Must the experiencers of ASCs continue to see the mainstream scientists as too often concentrating on the irrelevant, and these scientists see the experiencers as confused or mentally ill? Or can science deal adequately with ASC (as well as ordinary state) experiences? The thesis I shall now present in detail is that we can deal with the important aspects of the ASCs using the essence of scientific method, even though a variety of nonessentials, unfortunately overly identified with current science, hinder such an effort.

The Nature of Knowledge

Basically, science (from the Latin *scire*, to know) deals with knowledge. Knowledge may be defined for our purposes as an immediately given experiential feeling of congruence between two different kinds of experience, a matching. "I understand." One set of experiences may be regarded as perceptions of the external world, of others, or of oneself; the second set may be regarded as a theory, a scheme, a belief, a system of understanding. I see an object fall, for example (one set of mental experiences) and know that it is "caused by" the "force of gravity" (another set of mental experiences comprising my ideas about physics). The feeling of congruence is usually something immediately given in experience, although many refinements have been worked out for judging degrees of congruence.

All knowledge, then, is basically experiential knowledge. Even my so-called objective knowledge of the physical world can be reduced to this: given certain sets of experiences, which I (by habitual assumption) attribute to the external world activating my sensory apparatus, it may be possible for me to compare them with purely internal experiences (memories, previous knowledge about how the hypothesized physical world works) and predict with a high degree of reliability other kinds of subsequent experiences, which I again attribute to the external world.

Because science has been incredibly successful in dealing with the physical world, it has been historically associated with a philosophy of physicalism, the belief that reality is totally reducible to certain kinds of physical entities. The vast majority of phenomena of ASCs have no known physical manifestations, however: thus to physicalistic philosophy they are

“epiphenomena,” not worthy of serious study. But insofar as science deals with knowledge *per se*, it need not restrict itself only to physical kinds of knowledge. To put it another way, the methods of *essential* science are a powerful knowledge gathering and refining tool which can be used more widely than just in studying phenomena of the physical world.

Essential Scientific Method

I shall discuss the essence of scientific method, what I like to call *essential science*, which is not the same as paradigmatic (which Kuhn also called “normal”) science, and show that essential science is compatible with an enlarged study of the important phenomena of ASCs. In particular, I propose that state-specific sciences (SSSs) be developed.

As satisfying as the feeling of knowing can be, we are often wrong: what seems like congruence at first later does not match, or has no generality. We have learned that our reasoning is often faulty, our observations are often incomplete or mistaken, and that emotional and other nonconscious biasing factors can seriously distort both reasoning and observational processes. Our reliance on authorities, “rationality” or “elegance,” while helpful, are not sure criteria for achieving truth. The development of essential scientific method may be seen as a determined effort to systematize the process of acquiring knowledge in such a way as to minimize the various pitfalls of observation and reasoning.

I shall discuss four basic rules of scientific method to which an investigator is committed, namely: (1) observation; (2) logical theory construction; (3) the testing of theory by predicting observable consequences; and (4) full communication linking these various processes. Together these constitute the essential scientific enterprise. I shall consider the wider application of each rule to the study and use of ASCs and indicate how unnecessary physicalistic restrictions may be dropped. Then I will show that all these commitments or rules can be accommodated in the development of SSSs that I propose.

Observation

The basic processes of essential science are schematized in Figure 1. The arrows represent major information flow routes.

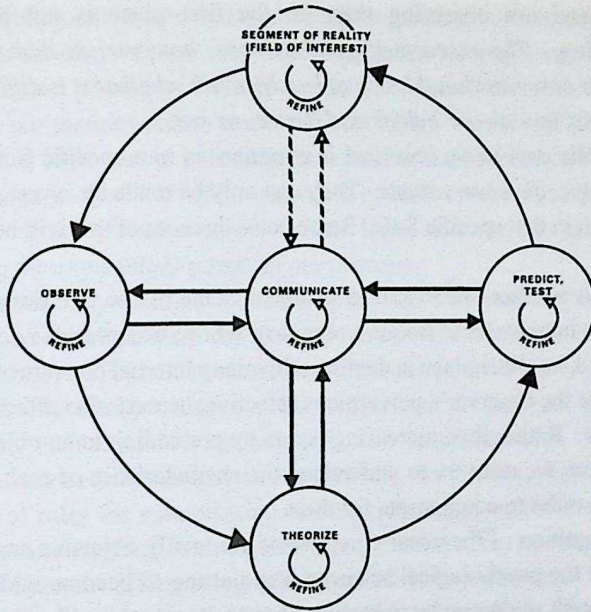


Figure 1. Scientific process

We start with some segment of reality that we want to learn more about and begin by making observations, collecting *data*, about what actually happens. It is necessary to realize we can often be insensitive and biased observers, so part of the observational process is a continual commitment to discover our shortcomings and to devise processes and/or instruments that increase the accuracy of our observations: this is represented by the circular "refine" arrow in the observational (and other process) circles in Figure 1.

While a scientist is committed to observe as well as possible the phenomena of interest, our paradigmatic commitments, our individual and cultural SoCs, make us likely to observe certain parts of reality and to ignore or observe other parts of it with error. Specifically, to date many of the most important phenomena of ASCs have been observed poorly or not at all because of the physicalistic subrating of them as "epiphenomena," so that they have been called "subjective," "ephemeral" "unreliable," or "unscientific." Such *a priori* value judgments thus interfere with observation. Observations of internal processes are probably much more difficult to make than those of external physical processes, because of their inherently greater complexity⁷, but

7. Because of this, for pedagogical purposes I like to pointedly refer to the physical sciences as the "easy" sciences and the psychological ones as the "hard" sciences.

devaluing and not observing them in the first place is not the way to understanding. *The essence of good science, however, is that we commit ourselves to observe what there is to be observed, whether it is difficult or not, whether it fits in with our beliefs and desires or not.*

When the data to be observed is experiences in a specific SoC, then we have *state-specific observations*. They can only be made by investigators who can function in that specific SoC. Some consequences of this will be discussed later.

There is another observational problem. One of the traditional ideals of science, the unbiased and isolated observer, whose observations do not affect the observed, has little place in dealing with many internal phenomena of SoCs. Not only are the observer's perceptions selective, he may also affect the things he observes. Rather than increasing errors by pretending to an objectivity we may not have, we must try to understand the characteristics of each individual observer in order to compensate for them.

A recognition of the usual unreality of the totally objective and detached observer in the psychological sciences was starting to become widespread in the 1970s, with studies under the topics of experimenter bias (Rosenthal, 1966) and demand characteristics (Orne, 1962). Interest and work in this fell off sharply, however. I suspect that the topic was too threatening, and so it was brushed under the rug rather than really dealt with. I have done some work in the area (Troffer & Tart, 1964; Tart, 1977) and have always carried out experiments with the assumption that I am biased and so should try to be careful to eliminate sources of bias. A similar recognition long ago occurred in physics when it was realized that the observed was "altered" by the process of observation at subatomic levels - more precisely that the "observations" did not have definite values until they interacted with the paradigm, the measuring activity of the observer - or in relativity theory where the characteristics/motion of the observer had to be taken into account. When we deal with ASCs where the observer is the experiencer of the ASC, the observer's experiences are the data, this factor is of paramount importance. Not knowing the characteristics of the observer can also confound the process of consensual validation, which we shall soon consider.

Theorizing

In spite of its primacy, we are not that interested in data *per se*, however. As discussed earlier, we want to know, *scire*, to create *theories*, schema, hypotheses - mental constructs that match and make sense out of the data we have observed.

A basic requirement of essential science is that, ideally, our theories completely account for the data we have observed. In practice we may create theories that account for that portion of the data we deem of most interest at the time, but ultimately our theories aim to account for *all* of the "significant" data. We use some kind of logic - more precisely some kind of axiomatic system - to create these theories, and, as with observation, we commit ourselves to improvement, both looking for potential errors in our logic that we can correct and/or expanding the explanatory power of our theories.

A scientist may theorize about his observations as much as he wishes, but the theory he develops must consistently account for all that he has observed, and should have a logical structure that other scientists can comprehend (but not necessarily totally accept). The requirement to theorize logically and consistently with the data is not as simple as it looks, however. Philosophers have demonstrated that *any* logic consists of a set of (arbitrary) assumptions and a set of rules for manipulating information, based on these assumptions. Change the assumptions, or change the rules, and there may be entirely different outcomes when the different logics are applied to the same data. In Euclidean geometry, for example, parallel lines remain the same distance apart even when extended to infinity (by assumption alone, as this cannot possibly be tested empirically), but in Riemannian or Lobatschewskian geometry they either touch or move infinitely far apart when so extended. Problems solved in these three systems of logic lead to quite different outcomes and all these outcomes have their uses.

A paradigm or an SoC, too, is a logic (or set of logics): each has certain assumptions and rules for working within these assumptions. By changing the paradigm (with its paradigm-specific perceptions and logics) or altering the SoC to an ASC (with its state-specific perceptions and logics), the nature of theory building may change radically. Thus an investigator in SoC#2 might come to very different "logical" conclusions about the nature of the same events that he observed in SoC#1. An investigator in SoC#1 may comment on the comprehensibility of the second person's ideas from the point of view (paradigm) of SoC#1, but can say nothing about their *inherent* (SoC#2) validity. A scientist who could enter either SoC#1 or SoC#2, however, could pronounce on the state-specific comprehensibility of the other's theory, and the adherence of that theory to the rules and logic of SoC#2. Thus, scientists trained in the same SoC may check on the logical validity of each other's theorizing.

Observable Consequences

Essential science is built on a recognition, however, that a theory being "logical" - conforming to the rules of a system that is based on arbitrary assumptions - is not enough to guarantee progress. We have to avoid the trap of what I like to call the Principle of Limitless Rationalization, a recognition that many of us are smart enough to make a plausible sounding *post hoc* fit between *any* data and some theory, regardless of whether that theory is actually correct in reality. Thus the third step of essential science: the requirement that *a scientific theory must make predictions about new events* which can be observed and *these predictions must be tested*. If your theory predicts, "If A, then B," and you set up A but B doesn't follow, that's too bad for your theory. It doesn't matter if your theory is mathematical, is "elegant," is consistent with currently fashionable and widely accepted theories, and is obviously brilliant and true to you: it's wrong in that it does not predict observables. The theory must either be modified until its predictions get better or it must be replaced with another theory. *In essential science, theory is always secondary to data*. In "normal," paradigmatic science, on the other hand, the paradigmatic framework tends to become predominant and data that doesn't fit is automatically subrated ("trivial" exceptions) or overlooked altogether. Paradigms and theories are useful when we use them as appropriate and useful, but when we become attached to them and they function automatically we are enslaved by them and our vision is constricted.

Ordinarily when we think of empirical validation, we think of validation in terms of testable consequences that produce *physical* effects, but this physicality is not essential to the essential scientific process. Any effect, whether interpreted as "physical" or "nonphysical," is ultimately an experience in the observer's mind. All that is essentially required to validate a theory is that it predict that "When certain experiences (observed necessary conditions) have occurred, another specified kind of experience will follow." Thus an essentially scientific theory may be based on data that have no external, physical existence, but are observable by consciousness.

Observing the tests of theoretical predictions metaphorically takes us back to the segment of reality we are interested in, eventually leading to improved understanding. When we begin an area of science we will make relatively crude (in retrospect) observations and have theories that are only gross approximations of reality with moderate support from predictions. Science is not a one time process, however, but a continuous one. The continual operation of this observe ® theorize ® test ® observe ® theorize ® test..... cycle ultimately leads to better and better matches between our knowledge and what can be observed.

Communication/Consensual Validation

I have described essential science so far as if it were the solitary activity of an individual scientist, but of course science is also a collective process. Any particular individual, no matter how devoted to the ideals of enriching our knowledge through the process of essential science, undoubtedly has her or his own particular biases and shortcomings in observation, theorizing and testing. Thus the fourth element of essential science, *full and honest communication about all the other aspects of the processes of observation, theorizing and prediction*. Colleagues check and expand your observations, adding in their own, check and expand the logic of your theories and predictions, test predictions of your theory, etc. Since it is unlikely that all one's colleagues will have biases and shortcomings identical to one's own, a social feedback and correction process works to reduce the effects of biases. As with all other stages of the process, a commitment to improving communications and absolute honesty is essential.

We usually require that observations be *public* in that they must be replicable by any *properly trained observer*. Where the observations are reports of particular internal experiences, the (experienced) conditions that led to the report of certain experiences must be described in sufficient detail that others may duplicate them and consequently have experiences which we judge to be identical. We assume that experiential data are subject to some sort of natural laws (even if harder to understand at present) just as physical data are. That someone else may set up apparently similar conditions but not have the same experiences, suggests that the original investigator gave an incorrect description of the conditions and observations (including the initial observer's relevant characteristics), or that she was not aware of certain essential aspects of the conditions.

The unnecessary physicalistic accretion to this rule of consensual validation is that, physical data being the only "real" data, internal phenomena must be reduced to physiological or behavioral data to become reliable or they will be ignored entirely. I believe most physical observations to be more readily replicable by any *trained* observer (although the training, such as getting a PhD in physics, may be much more arduous than developing some ASC abilities!) because physical events often yield productively to simplified models, which we have not developed yet for internal events. In principle, however, consensual validation of internal phenomena by a trained observer is quite possible. Experienced marijuana users, for example, gave consistent rankings of minimal thresholds for various internal phenomena as a function of their overall experiential perception of how intoxicated they were (Tart & Kvetensky,

1973), and Buddhist meditation tradition has criteria for the quality of the states reached in meditation (Brown & Engler, 1980), criteria only comprehensible and applicable by those who have attained similar meditative states.

Note too that the emphasis on the public nature of observation in science has a misleading quality insofar as it implies that any intelligent person can replicate a scientist's observations. This might have been true early in the history of science, but nowadays only the highly trained observer can replicate many observations. I cannot go into a modern physicist's laboratory and confirm her observations. Indeed, her talk of what she has found in her experiments (physicists seem to talk about innumerable invisible entities these days) would probably seem "mystical" (in the pejorative sense of the term) to me, just as many descriptions of internal states sound "mystical" to those with a background in the physical sciences.

Given the high complexity of the phenomena associated with ASCs, the need for replication by *trained* observers is exceptionally important. Since it generally takes 4 to 10 years of intensive training to produce a scientist in most of our conventional sciences, we should not be surprised that there has been very little reliability of observations from untrained observers of ASC phenomena or of experiential phenomena in general. Psychology, for example, began in the last century as an introspective discipline, where "trained observers" intended to isolate and observe the basic elements of the mind, a sort of mental chemistry model. When different laboratories could not agree in their basic observations, discouragement set in and psychology moved largely to behaviorism, throwing away the bulk of the most interesting aspects of mental life, getting a much narrower, but far easier to observe, subject matter.

In retrospect, this failure of early introspective psychology is not hard to understand. A "trained observer" was usually a research assistant with 10 to 20 hours of training, but insofar as we can take a 2500 year old tradition of meditative training seriously (Buddhism), their finding was that almost all people's ordinary minds were (and are) so unstable and biased that it takes something like 5,000 hours of basic training to calm and stabilize the mind so that basic mental phenomena can be reliably observed⁸. (We will look at the question of whether a tradition like Buddhism is a state-specific "science" later.)

Further, for the state-specific sciences that I propose should be established, we cannot yet specify the requirements that would constitute adequate training. These would only be determined after considerable trial and error. We should also recognize that very few people might complete the training successfully. Some people do not have the necessary innate characteristics to become

8. Personal communication, Shinzen Young, 1985.

physicists, and some probably do not have the innate characteristics to become, say, scientific investigators of meditative states. *Public observation, then, almost always refers to a limited, specially trained public.* It is only by basic agreement among those specially trained people that data become accepted as a foundation for the development of a science. That laymen cannot replicate the observations is of little relevance.

In addition to the fact that state-specific observations are potentially available only to those who can enter the required SoC, a second problem in consensual validation arises from a phenomenon predicted by my concept of ASCs, but not yet empirically investigated, namely, *state-specific communication*. Given that an ASC is an overall qualitative and quantitative shift in the complex functioning of consciousness, such that there are new "logics" and perceptions (which constitute a paradigm shift), it is reasonable to hypothesize that communication may take a different pattern. For two observers, both of whom, we assume, are fluent in communicating with each other in a given SoC, communication about some new observations may seem adequate to them, or may be improved or deteriorated in specific ways. To an outside observer, an observer in a different SoC, the communication between these two observers may seem "nonsensical" or "deteriorated."

Practically all investigations by scientists in a state of ordinary consciousness of communication by persons in ASCs have resulted in reports of "deterioration" of communication abilities. In designing their studies, however, these investigators have not taken into account the fact that the patterns and internal logics of communication may have changed. If I am listening to two people speaking in English, and they suddenly begin to intersperse words and phrases in Portuguese, I, as an outside (non-Portuguese speaking) observer, will note a gross "deterioration" in communication. Adequacy of communication between people in the same SoC and across SoCs must be empirically determined.

Thus consensual validation may be restricted by the fact that only observers in the same ASC are able to communicate adequately with each other, and they may not be able to communicate adequately to someone in a different SoC, say normal consciousness⁹.

9. A state-specific scientist might find his own work somewhat incomprehensible when he was not in that SoC because of the phenomenon of *state-specific memory* - that is, not enough of his work would transfer to his ordinary SoC to make it comprehensible, even though it would make perfect sense when he was again in the ASC in which he did his scientific work.

State-Specific Sciences

We tend to envision the practice of science like this: centered around interest in some particular range of subject matter, a small number of highly selected, talented, and rigorously trained people spend considerable time making detailed observations on the subject matter of interest. To various degrees they have special places (laboratories) or instruments or methodologies to assist them in making finer observations. They speak to one another in a special technical language which they feel conveys precisely the important facts of their field. Using this language, they confirm and extend each other's knowledge of certain data basic to the field. They theorize about their basic data in accordance with the special logic(s) they have been trained in and construct elaborate systems. They validate these by recourse to further observation. These trained people all have a long-term commitment to the constant refinement of observation and extension of theory. Their activity is frequently incomprehensible to laymen. Their work may or may not have some consequences that affect ordinary people's lives.

This general description is equally applicable to a variety of sciences, or areas that could become sciences, whether we called such areas biology, physics, chemistry, psychology, lucid dreaming, understanding of mystical states, or drug-induced alteration of cognitive processes. The particulars of research would look very different, but the essential scientific method potentially running through all is the same.

More formally, I now propose the creation of various state-specific sciences. If such sciences could be created, we would have a group of highly skilled, dedicated, and trained practitioners able to achieve a common SoC (an ASC, remember, in comparison with their ordinary state) and able to agree with one another that they have attained a common state. While in that SoC, they might then investigate various areas of interest, whether these be totally internal phenomena of that given SoC, the interaction of that state with external, physical reality, or people in other SoCs.

The fact that the experimenter should be able to function skillfully in the SoC itself for a state-specific science does not necessarily mean that he would always be the subject/observer. While he might often be the subject, observer, and experimenter simultaneously, it would be quite possible for him to collect data from experimental manipulations of other subjects in the SoC, and either be in SoC himself at the time of data collection (so he would be sensitive to nuances of observers' reports not communicable to people not in that SoC) or be in that SoC himself for data reduction and theorizing.

Illustrations of State-Specific Sciences

Examples of some observations made and theorizing done by a scientist in a specific ASC would illustrate the nature of a proposed state-specific science. But this is not easy to do because no state-specific sciences have yet been *formally* established¹⁰. Also, any example that would make good sense to the readers of this article (who are, presumably, all in a normal SoC¹¹) would not really illustrate the uniqueness of a state-specific science. If parts of it did make sense, it would be an example of a problems that could be approached usefully from both the ASC and our ordinary SoC, and thus it would be too easy to see the entire problem in terms of accepted scientific procedures for normal SoCs and so miss the point about the necessity for developing state-specific sciences.

However there has been significant progress in one area toward laying the foundations of a state-specific science, namely in the study of lucid dreaming, and we may already have one highly developed state-specific science which has not been recognized as such.

Lucid dreaming is an ASC that usually begins as an ordinary nocturnal dream (with the usual stage-1 EEG and rapid eye movement (REM) correlates), but at some point the SoC of ordinary dreaming is converted into lucid dreaming by two events. First, the dream thought, "This is a dream," occurs. This is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for defining a lucid dream, as this dream thought can occur without any further changes in the gestalt quality of consciousness that comprises ordinary dreaming. Then a rapid change in the pattern of consciousness may occur (the induction process is not well understood) that is described by the adjective "lucid," for consciousness is now experienced as having roughly the clarity of one's ordinary waking state - *but one is still sensorily located in the dream world in a perfectly "real" way*. Except for the major sensory change of being located in a quite real dream

10. "Ordinary consciousness science" is not a good example of a pure state-specific science because many important discoveries have occurred during ASCs, such as reverie, dreaming, meditative-like states and trance states (see Hadamard, 1954, e.g.).

11. When I first proposed the creation of state-specific sciences in 1972, for example, about a hundred letters were submitted to the editor of *Science*. Many (usually from older academics) objected that science was only possible in our ordinary "normal" state, for they believed that all ASCs represented deteriorations in rationality. Younger scientists tended to be enthusiastic about the proposal. The most interesting pair of letters came from one scientist who at first agreed with the older ones that the idea of state-specific sciences was preposterous, but then wrote a second letter to the editor in which he stated that, while he felt embarrassed to write again and was only writing because of his commitment to scientific honesty, he had thought about the state-specific sciences proposal while in an ASC, and it made perfect sense in the altered state! Neither of these letters was published, unfortunately.

world (the dreamer feels she is *perceiving* a dream world, usually with as much or more intensity as the ordinary sensory world is perceived, not *imagining* it), the quality of consciousness is very *like* - although not necessarily *identical* with - ordinary consciousness. How is this distinction made? In the same way we discussed at the beginning of this article in defining states of consciousness, namely your obvious observation that the pattern of your mental functioning is essentially that of your waking state, not the pattern you recall as constituting your dream state. A lucid dreamer can also test various components of mental functioning, such as checking for continuity and clarity of waking memories, availability of skills (such as "logically" reasoning that it is impossible to be so obviously lucid and conscious while dreaming, but right then you are experiencing the reality that it can happen), etc.

The 1969 publication of my *Altered States of Consciousness* book had the fortunate effect of sensitizing people to the reality of lucid dreaming (it had been almost totally ignored by mainstream dream investigators) by republishing Frederick van Eeden's article describing and naming this ASC (Tart, 1969, pp. 145-158), and considerable attention was then given to the topic. While a lucid dream is a once-in-a-lifetime experience for most people, some have learned to deliberately induce them, if not quite at will at least with at least fair probability of having one on any particular night. Most such investigators have described lucid dreams in ordinary state language to maximize communications, and there is now an extensive literature on this (see, e.g. Gackenbach & LaBerge, 1988; LaBerge, 1985). A newsletter (*Lucidity Letter*) that evolved into a journal, *Lucidity*, (now unfortunately defunct for financial reasons) connected investigators together so they could share observations, experimental results (what happens when you try X in a lucid dream?), and theories about the nature of lucid dreams. For example some investigators reported that they could not switch on lights beyond low level of experienced brightness in their lucid dreams (compared to their memories of waking state light brightness while in the lucid dream) and theorized that there were underlying physiological reasons, involving levels of cortical activation, to explain this. Other investigators practiced switching on lights in their lucid dreams and eventually found they could get bright illumination in their dreams, so the theory of an underlying cortical limit here was rejected.

Investigation of lucid dreams by lucid dreamers is now most strongly represented by a newsletter (*Night Light*) published by one of the pioneering investigators, Stephen LaBerge (information can be found at <http://www.lucidity.com>) and by the sharing of observations and theories in internet news groups (see, e.g., alt.dreams.lucid). While much of this activity can be seen as the investigation of an ASC from within ordinary consciousness, that is

ordinary state reflection on reports about and memories of lucid dream experiences, there can be state-specific qualities to lucid dreaming (recall the definition above that the SoC in lucid dreaming is very like ordinary consciousness, but not necessarily identical to it). A promising beginning step in investigating this was a study by Bogzaran (1996). She investigated lucid dreamers who had also experienced some of their lucid dreams as a transition state into a more mystical ASC, described as a "multidimensional space." They had great difficulty attempting to describe that state, calling it "ineffable." But when she had them inspect the works of several modern artists (Gordon Onslow Ford, Roberto Matta, Lee Mullican and John Anderson), they found the paintings expressed the multidimensional spaces they had experienced in a way that made sense to them. This may be a step toward an indirect form of state-specific communication, necessary for developing SSSs of lucid dreams, as two lucid dreamers in their lucid dreams are not in direct contact with one another at that time.

Mathematics: I will argue that various branches of pure mathematics constitute at least one, if not several, unrecognized state-specific sciences¹². I intend this argument to be provocative rather than definitive, in the hope that it will inspire mathematicians to reflect on the SoCs they work in and see how well they fit the concept of state-specific sciences.

The argument is as follows. First, the "data" of pure mathematics are entirely experiential, mental in nature. Second, the subject matter of pure mathematics consists of experiential "perceptions"/data as well as theorizing, because mathematicians frequently allude to a sort of quasi-perception of mathematical "forms" ("forms" may be too concrete a word for some mathematicians) as a basis for their work. They try to grasp or perceive these forms more and more accurately. Third, mathematicians theorize in terms of various logics, systems of mathematics, and try to apply this correctly. Fourth, predictions from such theories are often tested on other experiential data, mathematical "perceptions" and "intuitions," and the power of the extension of the theories is used as a test of the generality and usefulness of them. Finally there is communication with colleagues about all stages of the process, and these state-specific communications about state-specific observations and state-specific logics are sufficiently well developed among practitioners to allow general agreement among this community of state-specific scientists as to what is and isn't valid.

12. I am indebted to Thomas J. McFarlane for this suggestion (see McFarlane (1996) and to Don McCarthy for elaboration of it.

While one might argue that there is no formal "induction" of an ASC to do mathematical work, recall the observation at the beginning of this paper that with practice induction can be virtually instantaneous and functioning in the ASC so familiar that the person does not notice that she is in an ASC. Indeed more than one SoC may be involved: a mathematician might do her creative work in an ASC, e.g., but switch back to ordinary consciousness for communicating. Some people are naturally talented at entering the appropriate SoC(s) for doing pure mathematics, but most have (also) had the induction procedure of many years duration called getting an advanced degree in mathematics!

Transpersonal psychologist Ken Wilber has expressed a parallel between mathematics and contemplative traditions provocatively as: "Simply because religious experience is apprehended in an 'interior' fashion does not mean it is merely private knowledge, any more than the fact that mathematics and logic are seen inwardly, by the mind's eye, makes them merely private fantasies without public import. Mathematical knowledge is public knowledge to all equally trained mathematicians; just so, contemplative knowledge is public knowledge to all equally trained contemplatives." (Wilber, 1984, p. 20).

If practicing mathematicians will begin making psychological observations of the SoCs they function in, rather than only being absorbed in their work within those states, we may learn a great deal about how state-specific sciences can work. Further, more knowledge *per se* of these mathematically useful SoCs may aid the training of future mathematicians or increase the efficiency of those already utilizing them. It is now up to mathematicians to expand or refute this argument.

State-Specific Sciences and Religion

Some aspects of organized religion appear to resemble the proposed state-specific sciences. There are techniques that allow the believer to enter an ASC and then have religious experiences in that ASC which are taken as proof of his religious belief. People who have had such experiences usually describe them as *ineffable* in important ways--that is, as not fully comprehensible in an ordinary SoC, but which are presumably comprehensible to people who can enter a similar ASC. Conversions at revivalist meetings are the most common example of religious experiences occurring in various ASCs induced¹³ by an intensely emotional atmosphere, although this seems to lack the systematic kind of knowledge and practice we would associate with the beginnings of a science.

13. Intense emotions are a common method for inducing some ASCs. A systematic treatment of the induction of ASCs is given elsewhere (Tart, 1975).

In examining the training systems of the more esoteric and mystical branches of some religions, however, such as Yoga, Buddhism or Sufism, there seems to be even more resemblance between such mystical methodologies and the proposed state-specific sciences, for there we often have the picture of devoted specialists, complex techniques, and repeated experiencing of the induced ASCs in order to further religious knowledge.

Nevertheless the proposed state-specific sciences differ in a fundamental way from religion. The use of ASCs in religion may, to various degrees, involve the kind of commitment to searching for truth that is needed for developing a state-specific science, but practically all the religions we know might be better characterized as *state-specific technologies*, operated in the service of *a priori* belief systems. The experiencers of ASCs in most religious contexts have already been thoroughly indoctrinated into a particular belief system (paradigm). Recall our earlier discussion about any SoC, including ordinary consciousness, being a world simulation process or a biological-psychological virtual reality system (Tart, 1987, 1991). This belief system may thus at least partially mold the content of the induced ASCs to create specific experiences which seem to reinforce or validate the belief system.

The crucial distinction between a religion utilizing ASCs and a state-specific science is the commitment of the scientist to constantly reexamine his own belief system and to question the obvious, in spite of its intellectual or emotional appeal to him. To put it another way, a commitment to truth (in the sense of theories with better and better congruence with data) must be more important than feelings or beliefs in science. Investigators of ASCs would certainly encounter an immense variety of phenomena that would be like what we now crudely label "mystical experiences" during the development of state-specific sciences, but they would have to remain committed to examining these phenomena more carefully, to honestly sharing their observations and techniques with colleagues, and to consider any obviously true "revelations" from such experiences as *hypotheses* and *theories*, subject to the essential scientific requirement of leading to testable predictions, rather than simply taking them as revelation of The Truth. It is data, for example, that people may enter ASCs in which they *experience* beyond the shadow of any doubt that the universe is fundamentally alive and intelligent. It is theory to then believe that this is indeed a factually correct view of the universe. Because of the immense persuasive power of mystical experiences, this may be a difficult task in practice, but it is one that will have to be undertaken by disciplined investigators if we are to fully understand various ASCs.

Relationship between State-Specific Sciences

Any state-specific science may be considered as consisting of two basic parts, observations and theory building. The observations are what can be experienced relatively directly; the theories are the inferences about what sort of non-observable factors account for the observations. For example, the phenomena of synesthesia (seeing colors and forms as a result of hearing sounds) is a hypothetical, largely hearsay proposition for me (and most of us) in my ordinary SoC: I do not experience it, and can only generate theories about what other people report about it. If I were in an appropriate ASC, on the other hand, I could experience synesthesia directly, and my descriptions of the experience would become data. Although not an inevitable outcome, we generally expect theory which is based on direct experience to have more value than theory which has little basis in data.

Figure 2 demonstrates some possible relationships between three state-specific sciences.

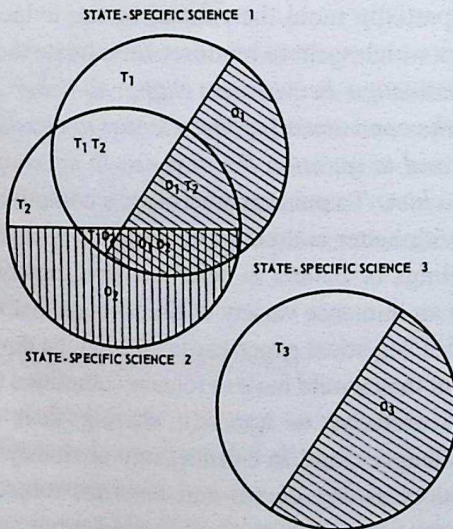


Figure 2. State specific sciences

State-specific sciences 1 and 2 show considerable overlap. The area labeled $O_1 O_2$ permits direct observation in both states, in both sciences. Area $T_1 T_2$ permits theoretical inferences about common subject matter from the two perspectives. In area $O_1 T_2$ by contrast, the theoretical propositions of state-specific science number 2 are matters of direct observation for the scientist in SoC number 1 (as in our synesthesia example), and vice versa for the area $T_1 O_2$. State-specific science number 3 consists of a body of observation and

theory exclusive to that science and has no overlap with the other two sciences: it neither confirms, denies, nor complements them.

It would be naively reductionistic (and involve an unprovable assumption that some one SoC is inherently superior to all others in all respects) to say that the work in one state-specific science "validates" or "invalidates" the work in a second state-specific science. This is particularly true in the too common assumption that ordinary state of consciousness science is the final arbiter of all truth: the hypothesis that everything can be reduced to material interactions is highly useful, but when it becomes an automatic paradigm it is a faith that blocks observations. I prefer to say that different state-specific sciences, where they overlap, provide different points of view with respect to certain kinds of theories and data, and thus complement (Bohr, 1963; Stoyva, 1968) each other. The proposed creation of state-specific sciences neither validates nor invalidates the activities of ordinary consciousness sciences, for example. The possibility of developing certain state-specific sciences means only that certain kinds of phenomena may be handled differently and, one hopes, more adequately within these potential new sciences.

Interrelationships more complex than those that are illustrated in Fig. 1 are, of course, possible. One SSS might, e.g., integrate two separate SSSs, analogous to the way Maxwell's electrodynamics integrated electricity and magnetism.

The possibility of stimulating interactions between different state-specific sciences is very real. Creative breakthroughs in ordinary consciousness science have frequently been made by scientists temporarily going into an ASC (Ghiselin, 1952; Hadamard, 1954; Harman & Rheingold, 1984; Krippner, 1964). In such instances, the scientists concerned obtained quite different views of their problems and performed different kinds of reasoning, conscious or nonconscious, which led to results that could be later tested within their ordinary consciousness science.

Individual Differences

A widespread and misleading assumption that hinders the development of state-specific sciences and confuses their interrelationships, as well as creating problems in the development of conventional psychology, is the assumption that because two people are "normal," their ordinary SoCs are essentially the same. My research has led me to suspect that there can be enormous differences between the SoCs of some, if not many, normal people. Because societies train people to behave and communicate along socially approved lines, frequently emphasizing our commonality, these differences are covered up.

For example, some people think primarily in images, others in words. Some can voluntarily anesthetize parts of their body when needed to eliminate pain, most of us cannot. Some recall past events by imaging the scene and looking at the relevant details; others use complex verbal processes with no images.

This means that person A (in her "ordinary" SoC) may be able to observe certain kinds of experiential data that person B cannot experience in his ordinary SoC, no matter how hard B tries. There may be several consequences. Person B may think that A is insane, too imaginative, or a liar, or he may feel inferior to A. Person A may also feel herself odd or perhaps insane, if she takes B as a standard of normality.

In some cases, B may be able to enter an ASC and there experience the sorts of things that A has reported to him. A realm of knowledge that is "ordinary" for A is then state-specific to an ASC for B. Similarly, some of the experiences of B in his ASC may not be available for direct observation by A in her ordinary SoC.

The phenomenon of synesthesia can again serve as an example. Some individuals possess this ability in their ordinary SoC, most do not. Yet 56 percent of a sample of experienced marijuana users experienced synesthesia at least occasionally (Tart, 1971) while in the drug-induced ASC.

Thus we may conceive of bits of knowledge that are specific for an ASC for one individual, part of ordinary consciousness for another. Scientific arguments over the usefulness of the concept of "states" of consciousness may thus sometimes reflect differences in the structure of the ordinary SoC of various investigators. One investigator who questions the need for any concept of a special "state" of hypnosis, for example, can anesthetize his body in his ordinary state in just a few seconds, so reports of anesthesia induced in a "state" of hypnosis do not seem compelling evidence to him.

Another important source of individual differences, little understood at present, is the degree to which an individual may first make a particular observation or form a concept in one SoC and then be able to re-experience or comprehend it in another SoC. That is, some items of information which were state-specific when observed initially may be learned and somehow transferred (fully or partially) to another SoC. Differences across individuals, various combinations of SoCs, and types of experience will probably be enormous.

I have only outlined the complexities created by individual differences in normal SoCs and have used the normal SoC as a baseline for comparison with ASCs; but it is evident that every SoC must eventually be compared against every other SoC. Hopefully our current definitions and understanding of ASCs will eventually be greatly refined.

Problems and Pitfalls

If we use the practical experience of Westerners with ASCs as a guide, the development of state-specific sciences may be beset by a number of difficulties (Deikman, 1966). These difficulties will be of two kinds: (a) general methodological problems stemming from the inherent nature of some ASCs; and (b) those concerned with "personal perils" to the investigator. I shall discuss state-related problems first.

The first important problem in the proposed development of state-specific sciences is the "obvious" perception of truth, mentioned briefly above. In some ASCs, one's experience is that one is obviously and lucidly experiencing *The Truth, directly, without question*. An immediate result of this may be an extinction of the desire for further questioning. Further, this experience of obvious truth, while not necessarily preventing the individual investigator from further examining his data/experience, may not arouse his desire for consensual validation. Since one of the greatest strengths of science is its insistence on consensual validation of data and theoretical work, this could be a serious drawback. Investigators attempting to develop state-specific sciences will have to learn to distrust the obvious, in spite of their emotional feelings.

A second major problem in developing state-specific sciences is that in some ASCs one's abilities to visualize and imagine are immensely enhanced, so that whatever one imagines seems perfectly real. The functioning of any SoC as a world-simulation process is amplified. To illustrate, as a graduate student I was occasionally a subject in LSD experiments. One of the experimental goals was to test whether the oft reported psychedelic experience of seeing new shades of color actually reflected increased ability to discriminate hues. Subjects in the ASC induced by LSD ingestion¹⁴ had to sort a large set of colored markers into spectral order by adjacent hues, and this could be scored for accuracy. As a subject I was devoted to trying to be a good subject, to accurately follow the experimental instructions. The sorting task was tedious at times, though, especially if the desired color was not near at hand and/or other aspects of my experience were more interesting. My objective scores showed very accurate runs within the test coupled with gross mistakes that brought the average accuracy level down to my ordinary SoC levels. In retrospect, in my ordinary SoC, I realized that when I felt frustrated, part of my mind hallucinated the appropriate hue onto a nearby color chip so I could

14. It is actually too simplistic to assume that one particular ASC is induced by a powerful induction method like LSD or similar psychedelic drugs, as psychological and situational factors can result in many specific but fleeting ASCs during an experimental session (Tart, 1975). This assumption can be made for this particular example, however.

consciously follow the instructions to try to order successive hues accurately, preserving my psychological identity as a "good subject" while overcoming the frustration of a too prolonged search. Thus in an ASC one can imagine something yet concretely experience it as data. If one can essentially conjure up anything one wishes, how can we ever get at truth?

One way of looking at this problem is to consider any such vivid imaginings as potential effects: they are *data*, in the sense that what can be vividly imagined in a given SoC is important to know. It may not be the case that anything can be imagined with equal facility, and the relationships between what can and cannot be imagined may show a lawful pattern.

More generally, the way to approach this problem is to realize that it is not unique to ASCs. One can have all sorts of illusions, and misperceptions in our ordinary SoC. The same techniques that eventually eliminated these illusions in the physical sciences will also eliminate them in state-specific sciences dealing with nonphysical data - that is, all observations will have to be subjected to consensual validation and all their theoretical consequences will have to be examined. Insofar as experiences are purely arbitrary imaginings, those that do not show consistent patterns other than those related to the psychological makeup of the individual observer will cancel out. Phenomena which show consistencies across differing observers, on the other hand, will tell us about the more basic reality of various phenomena.

The effects of this enhanced vividness of imagination in some ASCs will be complicated further by two other important problems, namely, experimenter bias (Orne, 1962; Rosenthal, 1966), and the fact that one person's illusion in a given ASC can sometimes be communicated to another person in the same ASC, so that a kind of false consensual validation results. Again, the only long-term solution to this would be the requirement that predictions based on concepts arising from various experiences be verified experientially across observers with differing biases.

A third major problem is that state-specific sciences probably cannot be developed for all ASCs: some ASCs may incorporate, depend on or result from genuine deterioration of observational and reasoning abilities, or a deterioration of volition. Those SoCs for which state-specific sciences might well be developed will be discussed later, but it should be made clear that the development of each science should result from empirical trial and error, and not from *a priori* decisions based on reasoning in our ordinary SoCs.

A fourth major problem is that of ineffability. Some experiences are ineffable in the sense that: (1) a person may experience them, but be unable to express or conceptualize them adequately to himself; or (2) a person may be able to conceptualize an experience to herself but she may not be able to

communicate it adequately to anyone else. Certain phenomena of the first type may simply be inaccessible to scientific investigation. Phenomena of the second type may be accessible to scientific investigation only insofar as we are willing to recognize that a science, in the sense of following most of the basic procedure outlined earlier, may exist only for a single person. Insofar as such a solitary science would lack all the advantages gained by consensual validation, we could not expect it to have as much power and rigor as conventional scientific endeavor, although it may be efficacious and useful for the person developing it.

It is important to note that many phenomena which are now considered ineffable may not be so in reality. This may be a matter of our general lack of experience with ASCs and the lack of an adequate language for communicating about ASC phenomena. In most well-developed languages, the major part of the vocabulary was developed primarily to assist in survival in the physical world.

A related communications problem is that some SoCs do not allow communication with others while the investigator is in the state (lucid dreams, for example¹⁵), so the sharing of state-specific observational data and theoretical activity must be done indirectly in the investigators' ordinary state or in some other state where they can communicate. Some meditative states, on the other hand, may allow investigators to talk with each other while in the SoC.

Finally, we should recognize the possibility that various phenomena of ASCs may be too complex for human beings to understand. The phenomena may depend on or be affected by so many variables that we shall never understand them. In the history of science, however, many phenomena which appeared too complex at first were eventually comprehensible.

Personal Perils

The personal perils that an investigator will face in attempting to develop a state-specific science are of two kinds, those associated with strongly negative or positive ASC reactions¹⁶.

15. The paralysis of musculature associated with the stage 1 EEG state that lucid (and ordinary) dreaming is associated with rules out ordinary communication, although LaBerge (1985) and others have pioneered simpler forms of communication through deliberate, coded control of eye movements and electromyographic potentials that are below the threshold at which overt movement occurs, so lucid dreamers are not totally isolated from communication.

16. I used the colloquial terms "bad trips" and "good trips" in the original 1972 presentation of this proposal, but these terms are dated now.

Negative ASC reactions, in which an extremely unpleasant, emotional reaction is experienced in an ASC, and in which there are possible long-term adverse consequences on a person's personal adjustment, often stem from the fact that our upbringing has not prepared us to undergo radical alterations in our ordinary SoCs. We are dependent on stability, we fear the unknown, and we develop personal rigidities and various kinds of personal and social taboos. It is traditional in parts of our society to (mistakenly) consider ASCs as inherent signs of insanity; ASCs therefore can cause great fears in some of those who experience them. An international assistance group, the Spiritual Emergence Network¹⁷ now exists to provide information to and sometimes counsel experiencers of unusual experiences without automatically labeling them as neurotic or insane.

In addition to these negative expectations, in many ASCs normal psychological defenses against unacceptable impulses may become partially or wholly ineffective, so the person feels flooded with traumatic material that he cannot handle. All these things result in fear and avoidance of ASCs, and make it difficult or impossible for some individuals to function in an ASC in a way that is consistent with the development of a state-specific science. Maslow (Maslow, 1966) has discussed these emotional attachments to maintaining functioning with a narrow, socially and personally acceptable range as pathologies of cognition that seriously interfere with the scientific enterprise in general, as well as ordinary life. In principle, adequate selection and training could minimize these hazards for at least some people.

Overly positive ASC reactions may also endanger an investigator. An ecstatic ASC may produce experiences that are so rewarding that they interfere with the scientific activity of the investigator. The perception of obvious Truth, and its possible effects of eliminating the desire for further investigation or consensual validation have already been mentioned. Another peril comes from the ability to imagine or create vivid experiences, also mentioned above. They may be so highly rewarding that the investigator does not follow the rule of investigating the obvious regardless of his personal satisfaction with results. Similarly, his attachment to good feelings, ecstasy, and the like, and his refusal to consider alternative conceptualizations of these, can seriously stifle the progress of investigation.

These personal perils again emphasize the necessity of developing adequate training programs for scientists who wish to develop state-specific sciences. Although it is difficult to envision, such a training would certainly need to

17. SEN, the Spiritual Emergence Network, can be contacted at <http://www.spiritualemergence.info/>.

include a cultivation of open-mindedness and flexibility. Also, aspects of the training program would have to be devoted to the scientist's understanding himself, so that the (unconscious) effects of his personal biases will be minimized during his investigations of an ASC.

There have been cases where scientists, after becoming personally involved with ASCs, have subsequently become poor scientists or have experienced personal psychological crises. It would be premature, however, to conclude that such unfortunate consequences cannot be avoided by proper training and discipline. In the early history of the physical sciences we had many fanatics who were nonobjective about their investigations. Not all experiencers of various ASCs develop pathology as a result: indeed, it is my observation that many seem to become considerably more mature. Only from actual attempts to develop state-specific sciences will we be able to determine the actual SoCs that are suitable for development, and the kinds of people that are best suited to such work¹⁸.

Prospects

I believe that an examination of human history and our current situation as the century draws to a close provides a strong argument for the necessity of developing state-specific sciences. Throughout history people have been influenced by spiritual and mystical experiences that are expressed (usually in watered-down and doctrinally edited forms) in the religions that attract the masses of people. Spiritual and mystical experiences are primary phenomena of various ASCs: because of such experiences, untold numbers of both the noblest and most horrible acts of which people are capable have been committed. Yet in all the time that Western sciences have existed, no concerted attempt has been made to understand these ASC phenomena in essential scientific terms¹⁹.

It was the hope of many that religions were simply a form of superstition that would be left behind in our "rational" age. Not only has this hope failed, but our own understanding of the nature of reasoning now makes it clear that it can never be fulfilled. Reason is a tool, and a tool that is wielded in the service

18. The ASCs resulting from very dangerous drugs (crack cocaine, for example) may be scientifically interesting, but the risk may be too high to warrant our developing state-specific sciences for them. The personal and social issues involved in evaluating this kind of risk are beyond the scope of this article.

19. There have been numerous attempts to explain mystical experiences "away" as nothing but psychopathology or abnormal brain functioning, but I find most of these attempts have been more representative of social bias than good science.

of assumptions, beliefs, and needs which are not themselves necessarily subject to reason. There are many logics, not just one correct way of thinking, as discussed earlier. The irrational, or, more importantly, the *a*-rational, will not disappear from the human situation. Our immense success in the development of the physical sciences has not been particularly successful in formulating better philosophies of life, or increasing our psychological knowledge of ourselves. The sciences we have developed to date are not very human sciences. They tell us *how* to do things, but do not give us much insight on *what* to do or not to do, or *why* to do things.

In the original 1972 presentation of this proposal for establishing state-specific sciences, I noted that "The youth of today and mature scientists in increasing numbers are turning to meditation, oriental religions, and personal use of psychedelic drugs. The phenomena encountered in these ASCs provide more satisfaction and are more relevant to the formulation of philosophies of life and deciding upon appropriate ways of living, than 'pure reason' (Needleman, 1970). My own impressions are that very large numbers of scientists are now personally exploring ASCs, but few have begun to connect this personal exploration with their scientific activities." While psychedelic drug use is not as central as it was then, the main thrust of this statement is still true.

It is difficult to predict what the chances are of developing state-specific sciences. Our knowledge is still too diffuse and dependent on our normal SoCs. Yet I think it is probable that state-specific sciences can be developed for such SoCs as auto-hypnosis, various meditative states²⁰, marijuana intoxication, LSD intoxication, self-remembering, reverie, various emotional states, and biofeedback-induced states (Tart, 1969), in addition to lucid dreaming. In all of these SoCs, volition seems to be retained, so that the observer can indeed carry out experiments on herself or others or both. Some SoCs, in which the wish to experiment during the state may disappear, but in which some experimentation can be carried out if special conditions are prepared before the state is entered, might be alcohol intoxication, ordinary dreaming, hypnagogic states, and high dreams (Tart, 1969). Some SoCs, like those associated with NDEs, may simply be too dangerous to deliberately experiment with, although we should try to learn what we can from retrospective reports about them.

20. In my 1969 *Altered States of Consciousness* anthology, I proudly announced that I had included two thirds of the English language scientific literature on studies of meditation - which sounded impressive, except that it meant I had included two of the three studies I could find. Since then there has been an enormous increase in studies of meditation (see, e.g., Murphy & Taylor, 1996), but they have all been from the "outside," i.e. external observations about the process from an ordinary SoC perspective.

It is important that the question of the development of SSSs be answered by actual attempts at development, rather than *a priori*, biased ordinary state decisions about what is and isn't possible. As industrialist Henry Ford once said, "Those who think they can and those who think they can't are both right." Considerable scientific adventure lies ahead of us!

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THE AESTHETICS OF HEALING: RITUAL PERFORMANCE OF TAMANG SHAMANS IN CENTRAL NEPAL

Dagmar Eigner

Introduction

Drumming, singing, dancing and the enactment of ritual dramas are important parts of traditional shamanic performances. Sometimes it is even said that good and effective shamans have to be able to sing and dance well (Michl 1976). Especially during the big evening or night sessions the aesthetic qualities of the performances are essential constituents of the healing rituals. In the following the interrelation between the patients' problems, the cultural tradition of social dramas, diagnostic systems and corresponding therapies are delineated. The social drama comprises all the possible and probable events that may happen in the specific group or society. How much they are concordant with the individual problems of the patients in the healing rituals does not seem to be of much importance. Thus, individual stories are moulded in the existing cultural patterns. Through the shamans' ritual performance the basic patterns come to life, are connected with the patients' emotions, and then solved according to the traditional plots.

Concepts of Illness Causation and Diagnosis

Depending on the specific ailments and the patients' situations healers give certain reasons lying behind the problems that serve as a starting point for rituals designed to solve the problems and alleviate the sufferings. All diagnoses and diagnostic manuals, also in Western biomedicine, are culture dependent and embedded in the worldviews and philosophical systems of the respective societies.

In traditional societies illnesses are often attributed to the influence of spirits and witches. Spirits represent the non-material world and can cause all sorts of troubles ranging from a general feeling of not being well to all kinds of somatic disorders. Even accidents can happen due to the actions of a spirit. Evans-Pritchard (1978: 64) emphasizes that only the specific circumstances leading to an accident are explained by supernatural interference and not the accident itself. For example, a boy would stumble over the trunk of a tree on one day, but not on another day when he is not under the influence of some spiritual or cosmic force. In indigenous societies the life of humans is seen in a wider context including the spiritual (non-physical) level and cosmic constellations.

Regarding the naming process of disorders, the transcultural psychiatrist Wolfgang Pfeiffer (1991: 95) notes that the terrible thing about a diagnosis like "schizophrenia" is that it neither gives plausible explanations concerning the illness causation nor provides therapeutic steps, but instead it stigmatises the patient and the family in public opinion. He continues that, on the contrary, a diagnosis like "evil eye" or "spirit possession" frees the patient from accusations, mobilizes support by the family or social group, and points towards a therapeutic programme that is beyond doubt. Thus, different diagnostic systems are not only equally logical but can also bear special benefits for effective treatment.

Furthermore, a specific diagnosis is not just a name for a given fact in a medical system equally valid in all cultures. It is not a word that can be translated into another word of a different language. The question "what is really wrong with the patient?" therefore will lead to confusion of cultural realities. Wiemann-Michaels (1994) has investigated if the "depressive syndrome" in Western diagnostic system is equivalent to "being bewitched" in Nepal. She concludes that although there are many similarities on the symptomatic level the complex of causation, meaning, and expression is different and therefore, one syndrome cannot be understood as a translation of the other.

Psychosocial Conflicts

With examples from Nepal I want to show the interrelation of symptoms, diagnosis, and therapy. If a traditional healer finds out that other persons are involved in the causation of the patient's suffering it is likely the he/she will diagnose witchcraft. Witches are thought to be live, concrete persons who mainly act out of anger and envy. They are not seen as monsters who cause harm without reason, but it is assumed that they have experienced hurt, unjust

treatment or neglect. Thus, their behaviour is considered to be very human and understandable so they should not only be punished but also be appeased, because a lasting therapeutic effect can only be achieved if the witches have no more reason to cause harm.

Witches are said to know several methods to harm their victims: cast spells, spoil food or raise and send spirits to destroy someone. The latter is the most dangerous method that definitely calls for a big night ritual to sort out the problems, send back the spirit, and re-establish harmony in the social group of the patient, the witch, family members or other persons who have important relationships with the patient or the witch.

Specific diagnoses have specific meanings and implications. Witchcraft and spirit possession can be seen as constructs that are shaped according to a social reality and are associated with certain symptoms like trembling and uttering intelligible words. These are signals to the surrounding that a person cannot cope with the pressures or aggressions he or she experiences.

In case of irreconcilable conflicts, the production of these symptoms (no matter how consciously or unconsciously it may be generated) is sufficient to prepare the ground for a specific kind of therapy. Expectations and theories that exist in a society play an important role. „Everyone sees it happen to others and expects without question that in similar circumstances it will happen to oneself. And it does.“ (Carstairs 1958: 1218). Berger and Luckmann (1980: 190) hold the opinion that psychological theories that are known by people become part of the everyday reality in the lives of those persons. A diagnosis and its implications must be familiar to all the members of a community so that the ways outlined to solve the problems are shared knowledge.

Tamang Healers in a Multi-ethnic Area

The Tamang who constitute the largest ethnic minority in Nepal are famous for the numerous shamans among them.¹ Although in urban areas modern biomedical service is available, shamans still play an important role in the health care system. Especially in case of mental disturbances, psychosomatic illnesses, or drug addiction shamans are consulted because there is hardly an alternative. Sometimes they are even called into a hospital to provide additional treatments for patients there.

1. Several periods of fieldwork of altogether 45 months have been carried out in Central Nepal between 1984 and 2012. I would like to thank the Austrian Funds for the Advancement of Research and Science for their generous financial support (1995 to 1997: Charlotte Bühler habilitation stipend; 2001 to 2003: Research project "A Mirror of Consciousness: Shamans' Comments on their Rituals").

Due to economic and political pressure more and more people of all ethnic groups have moved from the middle hills to the Kathmandu Valley what resulted in increasingly dense population of predominantly low-status people who strive to make a living and due to bad working conditions have a lot of health problems. To visit hospitals that are sometimes even poorly equipped is a rather expensive and alienating undertaking. Furthermore, biomedical doctors usually do not offer treatment for psychosocial problems or emotional support for those who do not come to terms with their hard living conditions. For example, children who have been sent to town by their parents in order to make some cash in order to increase the family income can only rely on traditional healers. In addition to their deep understanding of human nature, they also have a strict ethical code according to which they have to help those who are in need.

Originally the Tamang have come from Southern Tibet and they speak a Tibeto-Birman language. Today they live primarily in the mountains east and west of Kathmandu Valley and the Valley itself (Bista 1967). In the multi-ethnic areas of Central Nepal the majority of the Tamang shamans' clients belong to other ethnic groups. A healer is usually chosen because of the reputation that he or she enjoys and not because of a specific cultural background. The language spoken in such inter-ethnic consultations is Nepali, which is similar to Hindi and *lingua franca* in Nepal. Also the symbolic language and the metaphors referred to must be comprehensible to all the participants of the healing rituals. The accomplished shaman has gained much healing power through his or her contact to the spiritual world and can establish optimal relationship to patients, their family members, and neighbours. He/she is the embodiment of divine power as well as master of communication with humans.

Structure and Dynamics of Possession Rituals

If a person is diagnosed as being possessed by a malevolent spirit – and especially if a person manipulates the spirit in order to harm someone – a healing ritual has to be performed to pacify the spirit and solve the problems in the social network of the patient. The main steps of the healing session, their meanings, and the therapeutic importance are as follows:²

- Rhythmic singing and drumming by the healer, calling helping spirits, and thereby marking the ritual space and time

2. For a detailed description of traditional spirit possession rituals see Eigner (2001).

- Inducing an altered state of consciousness in the patient by rhythmic stimulation
- Interrogating the spirit that is troubling the patient: the spirit should tell why it has attacked the patient, if it has been raised and sent by a person who wants to harm the patient (and maybe also other persons, especially close relatives of the patient)
- Thus, with the "voice" of the spirit, the patient can talk freely about family matters, express deep emotions, and accuse other persons, also senior family members, because it is not himself/herself
- If a patient cannot let the spirit speak through himself/herself the healer will take over this role and thereby elicit an intense communication about the problems in the family or community
- The ritual time and space provides a sheltered situation for people present so that no one has to fear negative consequences for any uttering or nonverbal behaviour
- The specific ritual language and rhythmic synchronisation facilitate an intense therapeutic process
- Sometimes also the person who has sent the spirit speaks through the mouth of the patient or the healer
- In the last part of the ritual the malevolent spirit and its master have to be appeased, and they have to promise that they will never cause any troubles again
- Before the closure of the ritual sacrifices are offered to the spirit as substitute for the patient

This process alleviates feelings of guilt that may have been in the patient before the treatment because he/she was not able to cope with the family situation, could not do daily work, and maybe even showed aggressive behaviour. Due to the metaphor of spirit possession and witchcraft the patient has no personal responsibility for any malfunctioning. The traditional healer also serves as the director of the ritual to ensure that everything is done correctly and harmony is re-established at the end of the treatment.

Individual conflicts embedded in cultural concepts are enacted in the course of healing sessions. Spirit possession rituals provide a symbolic language, in which conflicts can be expressed, discussed, and solved.

Rhythm and Music Therapy

By rhythmic drumming, singing, and dancing traditional healers induce altered states of consciousness in themselves, in the patient, and to some degree in all the people who are present. It is assumed that a synchronization of brain waves in the individual persons and also synchronization of movement, brain waves, and speech of different persons - in particular the healer and the patient - takes place. Neher (1962) argues that drumming with 4 to 7 beats per second is most effective to induce altered states of consciousness because it corresponds to the theta brain waves that do not occur in alert waking states. He assumes that this frequency range is used in traditional rituals in many cultures.

In shamanic rituals in Central Nepal healers turn towards the patients and deliberately try to impose their rhythm on the patient. The process is similar to auditory driving that is also employed in Western psychology and medicine for various purposes, including diagnostic procedures.

Drum beating of a group of people who try to keep the same rhythm but are not completely successful, leads to a slight de-synchronisation that is called *inherent patterns*. Modern music therapy is well aware of this fact that traditional medicine in indigenous cultures have employed in healing procedures for thousands of years. At present, experiments are carried in order to gain more knowledge about this kind of music therapy.

Last not least, singing, drumming, dancing, and rhythmical recitation of certain words are also a method to get into contact with tutelary spirits and other non-material agents involved in the illness causing events. The ways of connecting to a spiritual world are a representation of the culture specific order of the cosmos. Directing patients' rhythmical movements, recitations of healing words, and encourage them to speak out themselves, also with the voice of another being, are techniques central to spirit possession rituals.

Recitations and Dialogues

The shamans' songs and recitations during the healing rituals are very poetic and often trigger strong emotions in the patients and other persons present. In an attempt to make the illness causing spirit reveal its identity and history the spirit's suffering, for which he need not feel any shame, is addressed. Whatever may have happened, now the spirit will find relief if it only comes and fulfils its duties.

1. Inviting the Illness Causing Spirit

After invoking the tutelary spirit and a number of deities by drumming and singing the shaman turns toward the patient and requests the illness causing spirit to recount the events that have brought about the suffering through the mouth of the patient. Although several facts are already known, the questioning during the nocturnal ritual starts from the beginning once again.

Wake up arise

Come opening up and making every limb of Bal Kumari³ shake

Don't feel worried

We will play together and stay together

Many might have hit you

Many might have thrashed you, my darling child

Your heart might have torn into shreds

Don't feel worried

Come over Bal Kumari's body

Come over here

Tell me who you are

You may feel hungry

You may feel thirsty

Don't feel sad

I will give you food to eat and clothes to wear

I will serve 84 delicious dishes

Wake up arise

Tell me who you are

I am calling you today, this auspicious day

Come moving along and opening up all parts of your body

Open up the 32 rooms⁴ and come here moving along

I will give you a golden ornament to wear around your head

I will give you a golden ring to put in your nose

I will give you a pair of pendants to be hung from your earlobes

Wake up arise

Open your heart wide and come along

My dear child, break the iron locks and come forward

Tell us your name

3. Name of the patient

4. In Tibetan culture the 32 rooms symbolize the 32 different kinds of substances the human body consists of.

*Why do you worry
 Why are you disappointed
 You have to talk with me
 Discuss things with me
 Come and sit with me*

The ritual is the special time during which a turn of events is possible and likely. Whose heart would not be touched by the intensive attention of the shamans? Who would not be happy about the promised food and clothes? Who would not let himself be seduced by golden jewels, a nose ring and earrings? "Do not cry, my dear child!" Upon hearing these tender words many patients begin to talk about their misery. The poetic songs cause the symbolic acts to become more deeply embedded in the emotional reality of the affected persons. The aesthetic performances of the shamans are very important. Only one who knows how to sing, dance and play is considered a good shaman. Oppitz (1989: 73) says that a shamanic séance is a *performance* in and of itself. The connection with the tutelary spirit – and subsequently with various deities – lends the shaman the power and inspiration for his or her dramatic representations (Schröder 1955).

2. Giving a Substitute

One of the core scenes of the shamanic healing rituals is the exchange of the patient's life with the offerings given to the illness causing spirit. The following recitation is part of the session for a young man suffering from stomach problems, dizziness and anxiety that could not be cured by Western type medicine. Because of that he has also consulted a shaman in his locality who has diagnosed that a spirit from the cremation ground is bothering the patient and to make the medicine work a shamanic healing ritual has to be performed.

*The time has come to say goodbye, my dear
 You are given such a grand feast
 Take your food and go back to your place
 For seven days and seven nights stay and play at the crossroad
 You will not be destroyed
 You are given food that is enough for seven months
 Clothes are also given
 You will be given a place to live
 Eat and play for seven nights
 And if you find some fat guy go with him*

Now I give you 84 delicacies⁵
Sweets, fruit, meat and fish are prepared for you
From the earliest time such kinds of food have been given
The same things are given to you now
At the time of departing
Without any worry leave this boy now
Clearing all parts of his body from head to toe
Guru is giving everything you need
After eating and drinking you go away
Now you have to leave, my dear
Take the 84 delicacies and go away
Take a head for a head
A leg for a leg
Instead of this man take a substitute
And go to your own place
I am exchanging a head for a head
A life for the life of this young man
Come moving to the head of the golden bird
Come moving to the body with a true promise
The hair are given for the hair
Are given as a substitute
A head for a head with a heartfelt invitation
Forehead for forehead
Eyebrow for eyebrow
A substitute is given by the guru
Ear for ear
Cheek for cheek
Eye for eye
Nose for nose
Lips for lips
Teeth for teeth
Tongue for tongue
Throat for throat
Shoulder for shoulder
Do not run away before it is finished
Come sitting on the head of the golden bird
With a true promise

5. In Nepal people speak about 84 delicacies that symbolize everything good someone can be pampered with.

During this recitation the offerings are taken from the leaf plates where have been prepared and moved along a five coloured thread that connects the patient's head with a clay figure that has been formed to represent the patient and thereby serves as a new dwelling place for the illness causing spirit.

3. The Promise

Before the powers that brought about the suffering are dismissed, they have to promise that they will leave for good and do not return to the same patient ever again. The repeated declarations are meant to convince the participants that at the end of the healing ritual the illness will definitely be terminated. Although the food is intended for the hungry spirit, it is also offered to the witch in order to placate her. When the blood sacrifice has finally been accepted as a substitute for the patient, neither the spirit nor the witch may lay claim to the patient and must leave her alone forever. The fact that the symbolic food is offered to the spirit as well as to the witch once again indicates the unclear separation of the forces that are responsible for the illness and who both speak through the patient's mouth in the following dialogue.

SHAMANESS: *What is the time? Is it eleven o'clock?*

SECOND SHAMAN: *It is twelve o'clock.*

PATIENT'S HUSBAND: *It is the right time.*

SHAMANESS: *Are you feeling sleepy?*

DAGMAR: *No, no!*

SHAMANESS: *What to do? It is my karma to bear difficulties. Other women have already eaten and are asleep.*

NEIGHBOUR: *Doing such a service cannot be taken as burden.*

PATIENT: *Doing service is a great merit.*

SHAMANESS: *Put some hair there, too. It is a symbol, a substitute. You have to give a little.*

SHAMANESS' HUSBAND (looking at the clay figure that has been formed as a substitute and a new place to live for the illness-causing spirit): *You have been made very pretty.*

PATIENT: *Again he is teasing me!*

SHAMANESS: *Now, let us not make it late.*

PATIENT: *Give me to eat and send me away nicely.*

SHAMANESS: *Make a promise that you will attack her and her family only when there is full moon and dark moon in the same day.*

PATIENT: *Yes, I promise.*

SHAMANESS: *When the sun becomes earth then only I will touch her.*

PATIENT: *I promise.*

SHAMANESS: *Say that you will only touch her when the sky and the underworld meet.*

PATIENT: *I won't touch her, I won't touch her.*

SHAMANESS: *Make a promise 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 times.*

PATIENT: *I promise 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 times.*

SHAMANESS: *Now I will sacrifice a life and take it to the door. Do you accept it or not? I touch the black bir with my sole and the masaan with my big toe. Do you recognize me or not?*

PATIENT: *Yes, I know you.*

SHAMANESS: *How many mantras do you have?*

PATIENT: *I do not have any mantra.⁶*

SHAMANESS: *If I ever find you here again, I will not spare you. If you do not keep your promise, I will make you shit and urinate in one place and make you crippled.*

PATIENT: *I am going, I am going ...*

The sacrificial animal and 84 delicacies are led along the thread to the clay figure set on a leaf plate. The patient's body is repeatedly beaten with the rooster to entice the spirit. Then the tray is carried out to the riverbank, the spirit's old as well as new abode. Outside, the rooster's head is torn off, so that the blood trickles over the decorated clay figure. The animal's head remains outside on the leaf plate, while the body is taken inside where it is cooked and eaten. Only the patient herself is not allowed to eat of it, for the rooster was sacrificed in exchange of her life.

With ashes three lines are drawn across the path leading back to the house, for it is thought that the spirit is unable to cross these lines. Those persons who have participated in the sacrifice at the riverbank are sprinkled with water before entering the house as a symbolic cleansing so that they cannot bring the dark, dangerous powers of the night inside.

Social Drama

Not only the elaboration of the different parts, but also the healing ritual in its entirety has a special effect on the persons involved as well as on the spectators. According to Turner (1982: 114), the social drama represented in the ritual corresponds to Aristotle's description of tragedy in his Poetics: „We have laid

6. The number of mantras someone can use is seen as sign of power. Without any mantra the witch is subdued.

down that tragedy is an imitation of a complete, i.e. whole, action, possessing a certain magnitude. (There is such a thing as a whole which possesses no magnitude.) A whole is that which has a beginning, a middle and an end. A *beginning* is that which itself does not follow necessarily from anything else, but some second thing naturally exists or occurs after it. Conversely, an *end* is that which does itself naturally follow from something else, either necessarily or in general, but there is nothing else after it. A *middle* is that which itself comes after something else, and some other thing comes after it. Well-constructed plots should therefore not begin or end at any arbitrary point, but should employ the stated forms." (Aristotle, English translation 1996: 13).

The same structure can be found in the nocturnal spirit possession rituals of Nepal. In the first part⁷ the illness-causing spirit is called upon to reveal his or her identity and relate past events: "Who are you? Why are you causing such suffering? Who sent you?" In the middle part of the ritual the psychosocial conflicts that lie at the root of the illness are discussed. In the final part of the ritual drama the illness-causing powers must promise to leave the patient, sacrifices are given and the spirit is driven out.

A pattern with unspecific contents is performed throughout the nocturnal rituals and the personal problems of the sick person are expressed within the basic structure. The correspondence to the individual situation is sometimes stronger and sometimes less so. But also when the identities and events of everyday reality are not obvious, simply following the basic pattern will lead to the alleviation of the suffering. Aristotle emphasizes that the function of the poet is not to say what *has* happened, but to say the kind of thing that *would* happen, i.e. what is possible in accordance with probability or necessity (Aristotle, English translation 1996: 16).

The "stories" underlying the ritual performance represent the structure and dynamics of a society. It is likely for a married or widowed woman who has moved to her husband's house to have problems with his elder relatives. Likewise, it is probable that a man – and therefore also his wife – will encounter difficulties when dividing up the family property. And it is possible and likely that conflicts involving envy and guilt will develop with poorer neighbours or members of an extended family. Therefore the basic structure and plots of spirit possession rituals match more or less the individual problems of all the patients whose sufferings are due to psychosocial conflicts.

7. The invocation of the tutelary spirits and deities must precede the questioning of the spirit. At the end of the ritual these powers are dismissed. The special framework that is thereby created distinguishes the ritual from drama on a profane stage.

The social drama and its enactment in the course of a ritual influence the way in which conflicts are experienced. According to Victor Turner (1982) there is an interdependent relationship between social dramas and genres of cultural performance. Life, after all, is as much an imitation of art as the reverse. Regarding a story of the ethnic group of the Ndembu about a special bracelet he notes that "just as the story itself still makes important points about the stresses between sex- and age-roles, and appears to be an emic generalization, clothed in metaphor and involving the projection of innumerable specific social dramas generated by these structural tensions, so does it feed back into the social process, providing it with a rhetoric, a mode of employment, and a meaning." (Turner 1982: 72). Furthermore, if the suggested solutions contained in the ritual's basic structure are followed appropriately, the suffering will be alleviated.

Visual Representations



Picture 1: Tamang women in the hills east of the Kathmandu-Valley.



Picture 2: Parman Singh in traditional shamanic dress with its wide frock dancing in front of his house in a village north of the Kathmandu-Valley while playing the double-sided drum of the Tamang shamans. Across his chest he wears a strap with bells functioning as a second music instrument as soon as he starts moving. On his headdress there are peacock feathers and porcupine needles for protection against evil powers.



Picture 3: Tamang shaman after return from a full-moon festival in Gosainkund. The pilgrimages serve to gain additional power by showing devotion to the deities. On the same occasion tests of neophytes and initiation rites are also carried out. The closing session of the week-long pilgrimage takes place in the house of one of the shamans in the Kathmandu-Valley. Local visitors are welcome and get blessings as well.



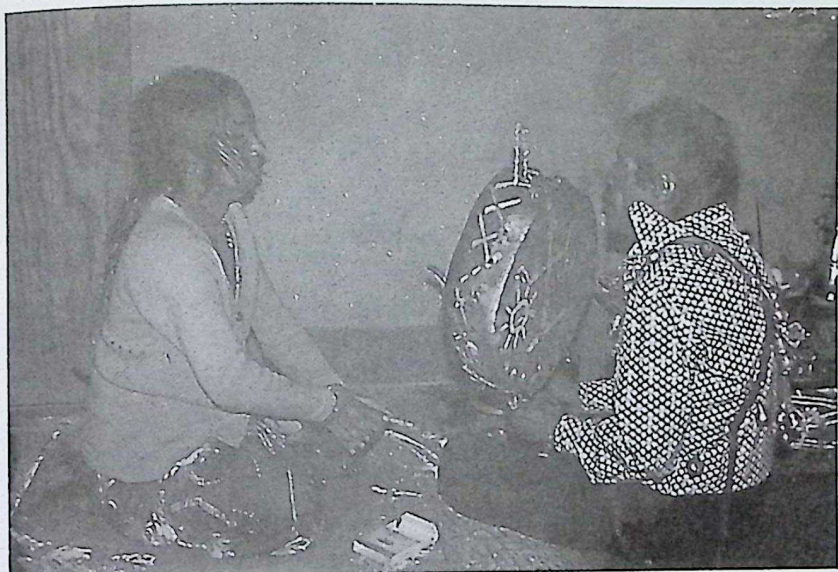
Picture 4: A group of Tamang shamans singing and dancing during full-moon festival in Rikeshwar. The shamans say that it pleases the deities when they dance.



Picture 5: Ram Bahadur singing creation myths during the first section of a nocturnal healing session. In the course of these rituals chants about the First Shaman serve as legitimation for the performing shamans that they have gained healing power in the proper way – i.e. the way that has been followed since the time of the First Shaman. Rituals are open for anyone who likes to attend, thus the qualities of the performing shaman become public and all participants can link into the mythic world.



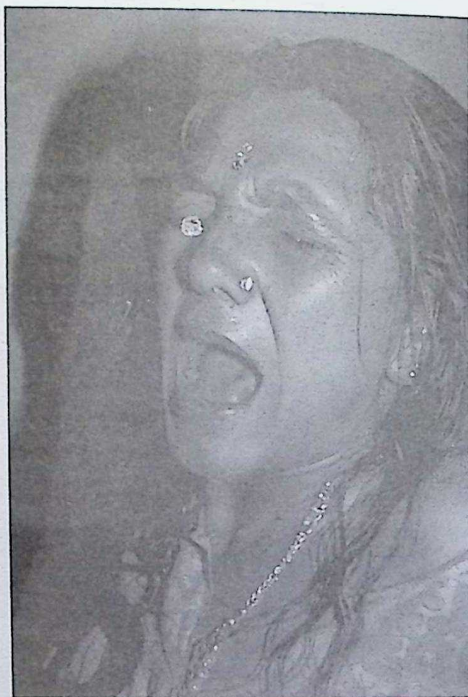
Picture 6: Buddhi Maya Lama sitting in front of her altar. At the beginning of a healing ritual she has to invite her guru (the spirit of her deceased father) and tutelary deities to come and help with her work and protect the space so that nothing can disturb the course of the ritual. These long songs mark the beginning of the ritual and the crossing of the limen to another space and time.



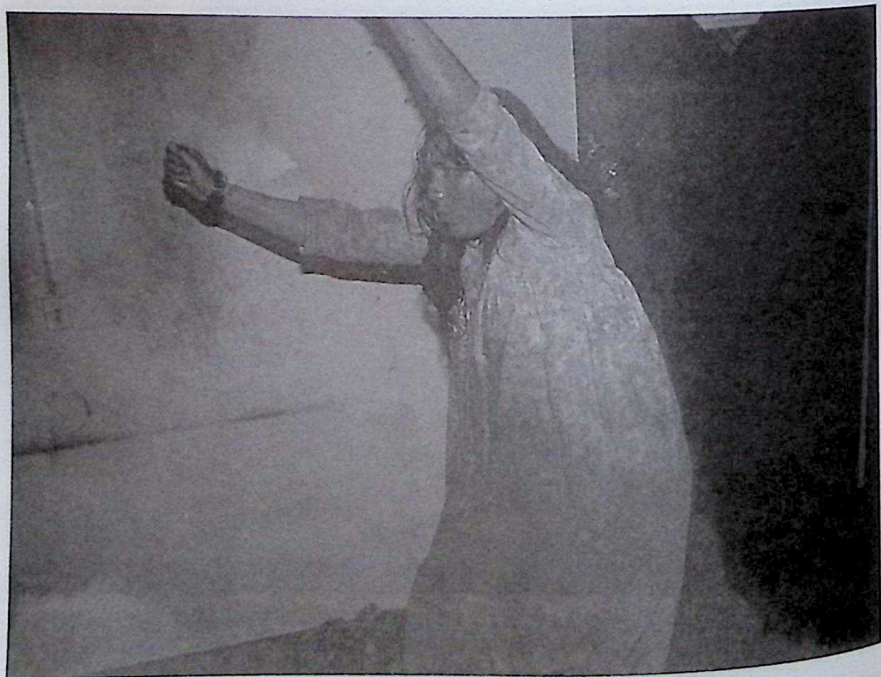
Picture 7: Bijuli Lama (Electricity Lama) is asking the illness-causing agent to reveal its identity and tell about the problems associated with the illness through the mouth of the patient. A circle of consecrated ashes is drawn around the patient so that the illness-causing agent cannot run away before all the problems are discussed and solved.



Picture 8: If the illness-causing agent is not willing to speak when asked nicely, the shaman will threaten it with harsh words or even slap it.



Picture 9: Patient expressing strong emotions during healing ritual.



Picture 10: The patient dances wildly in the room -



Picture 11: - and finally collapses on the floor.



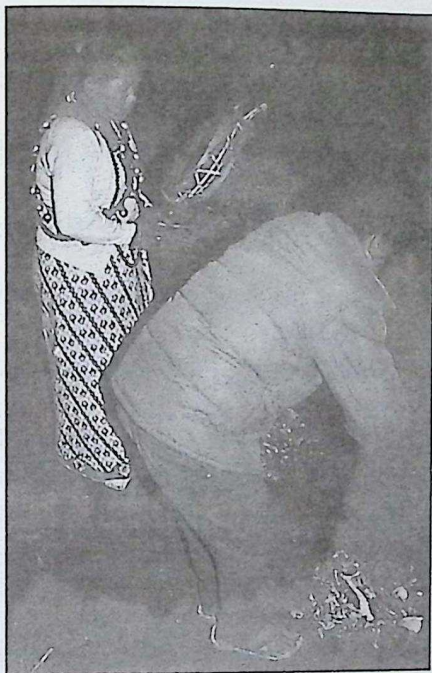
Picture 12: The patient's body is touched with the cock over and over again while chanting songs about the exchange of the patient's life with the sacrificial animal.



Picture 13: A leaf-plate toward which the offerings for the illness-causing agent will be shifted, is prepared by a helper. The clay figure on the plate represents the substitute for the patient and the new dwelling place for the spirit. After the patient's head is connected with the clay figure by a 5-coloured thread, cotton wicks dipped into oil are lit so that the illness-causing spirit can easily find its new place.



Picture 14: Before the healing ritual can be finished the illness-causing agent has to assert that it is happy with the offerings and promise that it will never come back again to trouble the patient. If the spirit has been raised and sent by a witch, she/he must also assure never to trouble the patient again. As spirits attack because they are hungry the shaman says: "If you have eaten all what is given to you now and you see a fat guy, follow him, but never come back here!" The shaman wants to make sure that the present problem has come to an end, however, it is not known what will happen in the future and, after all, spirits cannot be killed; they are part of the immaterial world.



Picture 15: Along the thread connecting the patient's head with the clay figure on the leaf-plate the spirit is pulled out of the patient with the help of the cock. To demonstrate this process, the cock must take the thread in its beak.



Picture 16: Outside the house on the bank of a little brook, the shaman's husband sacrifices the cock while she is singing and drumming.

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“MEDIUMISTIC SURGERY” IN BRAZIL

Stanley Krippner

“Mediumistic surgery” is a popular form of complementary medicine that faces challenges regarding its authenticity, although it has received little scientific evaluation. This article presents my experiences with some of Brazil’s most celebrated “mediumistic surgeons,” past and present.

Spiritistic Faiths in Brazil

Brazil declared its independence from Portugal in 1822, and freed its slaves in 1888. Before either of these events occurred, homeopathic medicine had been introduced and a spiritual healing movement had evolved in an alliance with homeopathy. In 1858, this movement galvanized with the arrival of *The Spirits’ Book* by Allan Kardec, the pseudonym of Leon Hippolyte Denizard Rivail, a French educator. Kardec’s book, based on interviews with and observations of practicing mediums, described a spiritual practice that, for many Brazilians, was more sophisticated and relevant than what they had encountered in either the Roman Catholic Church or the syncretic African-Brazilian religious movements of the day. The African-Brazilian faiths are also “spiritistic because they believe that their practitioners can incorporate “spirits” for healing purposes. Like Spiritism (or Kardecismo, as it is often referred to in Portuguese) the African-Brazilian faiths foster such doctrines as reincarnation as well as such practices as the “incorporation” of spirit guides in their healing services.

Dr. Fritz

One of the most celebrated healers of modern times was Ze Arigo, a Brazilian farmer who claimed to incorporate the spirit of Dr. Fritz, a German physician who supposedly died during the First World War. Arigo was killed in a 1971 traffic accident, but Dr. Fritz allegedly has reappeared since, almost always as

a healer, but once as a politician. (However, the candidate who claimed to have incorporated the spirit of Dr. Fritz lost the election!)

In 1985, I met someone who claimed to have Dr. Fritz's alleged healing power, Edson Cavalcante de Queiroz, an obstetrician and gynecologist working in Recife, Brazil. We were both attending a conference in Sao Paulo, and Queiroz agreed to conduct a private session, during which he worked with half a dozen volunteers. As he sliced flesh with a scalpel and gave injections with surgical needles, I noticed a curious phenomenon. All three of the volunteers from the United States winced or screamed with pain, while the Brazilian volunteers were silent and stoic. Upon reflection, I realized that the Brazilians knew of Dr. Fritz's reputation as a painless practitioner, whereas the Americans had no such preconception. The expectation with which one enters a healing session is bound to affect one's response, whether the practitioner is an allopathic physician, a Spiritist "channeler," or—as was the case with Queiroz—both.

Edson Queiroz was murdered by an associate in 1991 after a business deal went sour. Even before his death, Rubens Faria, a computer engineer living in Rio de Janeiro, contended that he was "channeling" Dr. Fritz as well. In addition, in 1993, when I led a tour group to Brazil, I met Mauricio Magalhaes, who *also* claimed to be "channeling" Dr. Fritz. During a lengthy session with Magalhaes in a private home, Dr. Fritz favored us with his presence, and a few members of our group volunteered for treatment. I had prepared them in advance for the experience, telling them that Dr. Fritz was renowned for operating with a minimum of pain; happily, their experiences conformed to this expectation!

An American anthropologist, Sidney Greenfield (2008) interviewed thirty-two of Magalhaes's clients. During Greenfield's interviews, each of which lasted about ninety minutes, he asked eighteen questions. Only 14% of the clients said they experienced pain, despite the lack of anesthetics, even though all but one said they had been subjected to the insertion of needles or incision with a scalpel. Only one of the respondents claimed to have experienced complications, 88% claimed to have been helped by the treatment, and 64% pronounced that they had been "cured" of their ailment. Of the thirty-two clients, 95% said they preferred Magalhaes to conventional medical treatment. When asked if their experience had influenced their point of view about religion, 56% answered that they were now more positively inclined toward spiritistic faiths. These faiths have proliferated in Brazil since colonial times, due in part to the arrival of African slaves who continued their native practices, many of which involved spirit incorporation.

When I write about the Dr. Fritz phenomenon or discuss it at psychological conferences, I use the adjective "dissociative" to describe it. For me, the term

"dissociative" can be applied to reported experiences and observed behaviors that seem to exist apart from, or appear to be disconnected from, the mainstream, or flow, of one's conscious awareness, behavioral repertoire, and/or self-identity. "Dissociation" is a noun used to describe a person's involvement in these reported "dissociative" experiences or to describe observed "dissociative" behaviors. (Krippner & Powers, 1997).

I apply the word "dissociative" to phenomenological reports and behavioral observations that pertain to personal concepts and memories. Individuals harbor several identities, as well as a multiplicity of memories covering their behavior, affect, sensations, and knowledge. When these constellations become disconnected, the result can be described as "dissociation." One example of dissociation would be ruptures in concepts of self-identity; another would be gaps in memories about events occurring in a particular time and place. In instances of "dissociative identity disorder," an individual has several identities (or "multiple personalities") that are out of his or her control. The typical result of this condition, which I consider to be extremely rare, is distress, misery, and torment. Fortunately, there are some skilled psychotherapists who can help the afflicted individual mold these shattered pieces into a coherent whole.

Dissociative identity disorder represents uncontrolled dissociation. The "channeling" of Dr. Fritz qualifies as an example of dissociation because there is a major shift in the "channelers" self-identity. However, the Dr. Fritz phenomenon is marked by control and by the positive utilization of this condition. Another extraordinary example of controlled dissociation came to my attention during a 1971 visit to Brazil, when I heard of Francisco Candido "Chico" Xavier. Born in 1910, Xavier reported his first experience with automatic writing in 1927 and completed his first "channeled" book in 1932. This was followed by over 300 other books purportedly "written" by some 600 "spirits" for whom Xavier served as a "medium" or "control." Besides poetry, the "dictated" material consists of historical romances, fiction, essays, plays, and moral teachings. These books have sold over 18 million copies in Brazil and have been translated into three dozen languages, and Xavier donated all the profit from sales to charity. In these instances, there were numerous displacements of Xavier's self-identity.

A fairly consistent similarity among the Brazilian "channelers" and mediums that I have observed is their purported inability to recall the events of the incorporation after the "spirits" have departed. However, this amnesiac quality can just as easily be explained as an "achievement"; each failure to remember adds legitimacy to a medium's reputation. In other words, I would interpret this type of controlled dissociation as a goal-directed activity, and find

this concept helpful in understanding the phenomenon of Dr. Fritz and other types of mediumship.

Arigo, Queiroz, Magalhaes, Faria, and others who claimed to have incorporated Dr. Fritz insist that they do not remember the events that occur once he has made his appearance. This amnesia is thought to demonstrate the authenticity of both Dr. Fritz and the incorporation experience. On the other hand, I have also observed indigenous shamans who reportedly allow "spirits" to use their bodies as vehicles to receive various messages and to conduct healing work; in these cases, amnesia is rare—but shamans and mediums are two very different types of practitioners, the former taking pride in their control and the latter in their passivity.

In 1996, I met Masao Maki at an international transpersonal psychology conference in Manaus, Brazil. I had been to Manaus on two previous visits but for novices like Maki, Brazil was an exotic country, and the banks of the Amazon River were an exemplary location for the conference. Maki was fascinated by Brazil and its wonders, and took a special interest in the Dr. Fritz phenomenon. At the same conference, I encountered a young friend of mine hobbling about with a cane as a result of a drastic accident that had occurred while rock climbing some years earlier. He returned to the United States a few weeks later without his cane, maintaining that he had been the beneficiary of Dr. Fritz's ministrations during a detour to Rio.

My only regret is that so little medical research has been done on the Dr. Fritz phenomenon. However, Sidney Greenfield published an article on Dr. Fritz in 1991. In 1996, the Brazilian psychologist Margarida de Carvalho published a case study of a Brazilian dancer (1995) whom she accompanied to Palmello, Brazil, where they visited a practitioner who claimed to incorporate "Dr. Ricardo," another German "spirit doctor." Greenfield's article is a model of a long-term investigation of an entire group, whereas de Carvalho's article is the prototype of an in-depth case study, one where the purported benefits were still evident after one year.

Do these "spirit doctors" represent discarnate entities returning to earth in order to complete their healing mission? Are they archetypal forces from the collective unconscious? Are they sub-personalities, fantasies, or downright fabrications? Only time—and disciplined investigation—will tell. In the meantime, the curious reader can do no better than to read Masao Maki's memoir, in *Search of Brazil's Quantum Surgeon* (1998). Maki is a delightful storyteller, and the tales he tells demonstrate over and over that Western medicine has not closed its accounts with reality.

The House of Dom Inacio of Loyola

Each of Brazil's many religious traditions boasts renowned healing practitioners, and in July and August of 2005, Hiram Yanez, a Mexican physician, and I visited a few of them. I arrived in Brasilia, the capital city, on July 29 where two friends met me at the airport and drove me 70 miles to "O Casa do Dom Inacio de Loyola," The House of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, in the hamlet of Abadiania. There were more than one thousand people at the Casa, as this date marked the birthday of Dom Inacio and the anniversary of his "incorporation" by Joao Teixeira de Faria, better known as "Joao de Deus" or John of God. Although he only had a few years of formal schooling, Joao is reputed to have performed complicated surgeries without causing pain or infection, and without using anesthetics or antibiotics. Joao works with some thirty spirit guides or "entities," the principle of which is Dom Ignacio.

Ignatius of Loyola is an appropriate choice of an entity for alleged "incorporation." The founder of the Roman Catholic Jesuit order, he selected the first members for the flexibility of their perception and their powers of mental imagery. By learning how to control their mental imagery, the Jesuits became exemplars of will and achievement, eager to pursue novel and unusual experiences. According to John of God, Dom Inacio has lost none of his interest in novelty, even after death.

No spirit guides were incorporated during my visit, but a colleague of mine had taken my photograph to the Casa in 2001, shortly after I had been diagnosed with prostate cancer. Joao said there was no need for me to make a personal visit to Abadiania because I would make a satisfactory recovery, and sold my colleague a month's supply of herbal capsules with the instructions that I should take one each day with water, praying before ingesting them. During my 2005 visit, I joined the line of people (most of whom were dressed in white) asking for Joao's blessing. I briefly thanked Joao for his advice in 2001 and was given another prescription. I went to the Casa's "pharmacy," bought (at a nominal fee) two bottles of capsules (made from passion fruit flowers), and received instructions not to smoke, drink alcohol, or eat pork during the two months it would take to deplete the supply. As in 2001, I followed the instructions, remembering that the passion fruit flower blooms in the shape of a cross.

I found the assembly hall of the Casa to be fairly large; Joao was seated on a small cement stage at one end of the room, the same stage where various types of "operations" take place. Outside the hall, various speakers were providing testimonials about alleged "cures" or discussing the Spiritist philosophy underlying the Casa's activities. As a teenager, Joao had a vision of

a luminous woman who directed him to a nearby Spiritist center where he could study the books of Allan Kardec. Shortly after his arrival at the center, Joao began to heal people, even though he had no recall of his activities. He was informed that he had incorporated King Solomon and that many people had benefited from his ministrations. Because he insisted that God did the healing, he was dubbed "Joao de Deus," a *nom de plume* that has stayed with him over the decades. The "entities" he incorporates range from deceased Brazilian physicians, who insist they want to continue to heal people, to Dom Inacio de Loyola and other Roman Catholic saints.

The Casa is surrounded by lush vegetation that leads to a waterfall and a small pool. There is a "recovery room" where people can rest following surgery and before returning to their hotel for a longer rest period. I discovered that the Casa has brought prosperity to Abadiania, where a number of hotels and restaurants have been constructed to accommodate the steady stream of visitors. I viewed a room filled with crutches, wheelchairs, and prosthetic aids said to have been left by visitors following their recoveries. I learned that some "operations" are "spiritual" in nature, involving manipulation of what Kardec called the "perispirit," one's "spiritual body." Many of those interventions that utilize surgical instruments have been videotaped, and I had seen several hours of these procedures before my flight to Brazil.

Some of the "operations" that have been videotaped show Joao inserting a surgical instrument through a client's nasal passage. The celebrated magician, James Randi, has questioned the purpose of this intervention (2005), concluding that there is no evidence that Joao "has ever accomplished anything but revulsion by sticking forceps up a victim's nose." Randi has gone on to suggest that Joao's organization "has set up a situation in they simply cannot fail." If there is no recovery, the client came to the Casa "too late," or did not have "the right attitude" or that it sometimes takes weeks or even years for the intervention to take effect -- long after the client has left Abadiania.

The videotaped "operations" also appear to show Joao "scraping" the eyeball of a client with the edge of a knife. Randi pointed out that the sclera (the white section of the eye) is relatively insensitive to touch and doubts that Joao's knife reaches the cornea. Randi's reaction to the videotaped "operations" was that Joao typically blocks the view with his body when the camera zeroes in for a close-up.

An on-site investigation of 30 "operations" by de Almeida, de Almeida, and Gollner (2000) found no sign of infection after a three-day follow-up. Commenting on the lack of infection following the "operations," Randi noted that not all breaking of the skin, through incision, scrapes, or punctures, results in invasion by bacteria or viruses.

Randi has been most critical of non-Brazilians who visit Joao de Deus instead of opting for medical treatment in their own countries, and some of the "advice" given by the spirits. Josie RavenWing, (2005) a visitor from the United States, enthusiastically wrote, "A voice began to speak to me, telling me I'd been shown the gift of transmutation of energy, and that as long as I chose to continue to smoke tobacco, I could stop worrying that it would do me any harm." Randi stated that there is "zero evidence" supporting the claims of Joao's followers that his ministrations are effective, except for those that can be explained by expectation, the placebo effect, and the passage of time. Emma Bragdon, in her 2002 book about Joao, countered by claiming that, Joao "has been studied by teams of legitimate scientists from Russia, Germany, Japan, France, and the United States. Pathology tests reveal that the tumors, substances and tissues the Entity removes from the sick are indeed human tissues from the individuals operated upon." A 1997 book by Savaris, published in Portuguese, details a number of purportedly successful interventions. From my perspective, an article in an English-language journal that is peer-reviewed is overdue. In the meantime, Bragdon wrote, "Nothing in this book is meant to replace the advice of a physician....No healer, physician, or disembodied entity who makes him or herself available for [this] healing is perfect." This cautionary statement should be kept in mind and seriously considered by visitors to Abadiania.

During each day of Bragdon's visit, John of God saw hundreds of patients in a large room where patients stood in a long line to see the medium, who typically wrote prescriptions after seeing each patient for a few seconds. Prescriptions often included the passion flowers previously described as well as a bottle containing a liquid compound made from herbs and roots, which sold for R\$3.00 (about US \$1.50). No fees were charged for the treatment and no one solicited donations.

During this consultation process John of God claimed that he was not aware, but in "trance" under the influence of one of his "spirit guides" who recommended mediumistic surgery to some patients. Then, these patients could choose between "visible surgery" (performed on the "physical body" and the focus of this study) and "invisible surgery" (performed on the "spiritual body" while they reclined in a bed in a specific room). Patients who chose "visible surgery" were scheduled for a future surgical session. Such surgical sessions took place twice a day, and included patients representing a wide variety of health conditions. The surgeries performed by John of God took place in a large, non-sterilized, and open room with dozens of spectators. During each of these "surgical sessions" approximately five patients usually remained standing side by side in front of one of the room's wall. "Visible surgeries" were performed in a few minutes, in a very grandiose and theatrical

way. Incisions were performed with either sterilized scalpels or kitchen knives and the surgeries were performed in rapid succession. As soon as a surgery was finished, John of God moved to the next patient. John of God did not wear gloves, wash his hands, or clean patients' surgical sites prior to or between surgeries (Bragdon, 2002).

Later, I collaborated with a team of Brazilian investigators, headed by Alexander Almeida-Moreira, a physician, who had received permission to examine several of Joao's patients. All these patients permitted their surgeries to be recorded with video and photographs. All tissues removed were collected and submitted for histocytopathological analysis.

Just after the surgery, Almeida-Moreira's team performed a clinical examination while the patients were in a recovery room. They focused on current medical diagnosis, past and current treatments, and pain during the mediumistic surgery. The investigators also examined each patient's surgical wounds just after the surgery and up to three days later.

During the three days of this study, a total of 30 mediumistic surgeries involving incisions were performed during six healing sessions. John of God removed tissue from 10 of these patients and the team was able to collect the tissue from all of them. However, due to logistical obstacles they were only able to perform a clinical examination on six of these patients (see table 1). During their examination they observed:

- No use of antiseptic procedures.
- No sign of infection in the surgical wounds.
- No use of anesthetic procedures. All six patients that were interviewed reported being aware during the surgeries and only one mentioned experiencing pain.

John of God sutured some of the surgical wounds. During one surgery, John of God invited Almeida-Moreira to suture a 5cm skin incision in the abdomen of a 40-year-old woman (case 4), which he did. This patient reported no pain. Other common procedures include corneal scrapings and a procedure in which the practitioner twists a gauze-tipped steel forceps in the patient's nostril. No hemostatic procedures were performed during the surgeries.

Although the team approached the topic with doubt and skepticism, they concluded—on the basis of their observations -- that John of God actually made incisions in the skin, as well as occasionally scraping the cornea, usually without pain and without the apparent use of anesthetics or antiseptics. In the three days of follow-up they failed to identify infection in any of the surgical sites. Histocytopathological analyses found the tissues and cells to be

compatible with their site of origin and, apart from a 210 gram lipoma, without discernible pathology. These findings are more exploratory than conclusive and further rigorous but open-minded studies are necessary, especially regarding efficacy, the reported analgesia and the lack of antiseptic. I was not present during this investigation but assisted in its evaluation and documentation (A. Moreira-Almeida, T. Moreira de Almeida, Gollner, & Krippner, 2009).

The Frei Luiz Shrine

On two previous visits to Brazil, I had taken groups of Americans and Canadians to the Frei Luiz Shrine, a healing center outside of Rio de Janeiro. The work at this center also has been influenced by the writings of Allan Kardec and attracts many Brazilians as well as visitors from other countries. It is named after a Franciscan monk, born in Prussia in 1872 as Teodoro Henrique Reinke. After his ordination, Frei Luiz arrived in Salvador, Bahia, in 1894. After spending two years at the Sao Francisco monastery in Salvador, Frei Luiz was assigned to Pemambuco and later to Petropolis, Rio de Janeiro. He also lived and worked in the state of Minas Gerais before he died in 1937. Frei Luiz was venerated for his kindness, for his devotion to charitable projects, and for his healing powers.

Yanez and I arrived in Rio on August 2 and during the evening I was taken to a private home. I had suffered an insect bite a few days before leaving for Brazil, one which had left me with a fever and a large abscess on my neck. Antibiotics had brought the fever under control, and Yanez had brought medication to reduce the swelling. However, a "carioca" friend, Maria Lucia Sauer, had arranged for me to be seen by Fernando Gilberto Arruda, the chief medium of the Frei Luiz Shrine.

I reclined on a long padded table while Fernando "incorporated" the spirit of Frederic von Stein, an alleged Nazi physician who died in the final months of World War II. "Dr. Frederic" regretted the wartime role that he had played, and now works from "the other side" to bring healing and restoration to people who are sick or suffering. I was told that "Dr. Frederic," working through Fernando, directed a team of half a dozen people also affiliated with the Frei Luiz Center. "Dr. Frederick" allegedly "drew from the channel" to bring about the desired healing, a non-contact healing intervention.

I expected the team to work on my abscess, which was still highly visible. Instead, they focused on my groin area. One of the members of the team, Luiz Augusto de Queiroz, directs the House of Padre Pio, which we were to visit the following night. During the healing session, Luiz Augusto claimed that Padre Pio had told him that my abscess would disappear in a few days but that I had prostate cancer in his "perispirit." As a result, the healing session focused on

my prostate gland. I had not told anyone in the group about my 2001 treatment for prostate cancer, but it was no secret to my friends and colleagues in the United States.

I watched the first part of the procedure because it was performed under soft lights while recorded music was playing. Luiz Augusto chanted, "We are giving our brother our love so that he will be free of prostate cancer." Then I closed my eyes and listened to the chants and the music. About half an hour later, the session came to an end. "Dr. Frederic" left Fernando, and the room's normal lighting was restored. Luiz Augusto told me that my "perispirit" was now free of cancer and that it would not return.

As I climbed off the table, I noticed a large orange, red, and white stain covering both my white shirt and the t-shirt underneath. It felt cold and wet, although I had not noticed the sensation earlier. When I asked for information about the stain, Fernando replied, "It is blood, lymph, and ectoplasm."

The House of Padre Pio

Padre Pio, a Capuchin priest from San Giovanni Rotondo, Italy, is said to have manifested a variety of unusual phenomena. Among them were the stigmata, bilocation, prophecy, conversion, anomalous scents of perfume, and remarkable healings. Although he died in 1968, his Brazilian supporters claim that people are still being healed through his intercessions. They also feel a connection with the American seer Edgar Cayce, and derive inspiration and direction from his "readings" and from books about his life and work. Padre Pio was canonized in 2002 as a result of so-called "miraculous healings" that supposedly resulted from his post-mortem intercession.

My "carioca" (i.e., a resident of Rio de Janeiro) friend, Maria Lucia Sauer, works at the House of Padre Pio where she practices "Lightbody Infusion." She describes this treatment as a type of "mind-body-spirit healing" that was introduced to her by the Brazilian medium Luiz Gasparetto in 1979 at the Esalen Institute in California. The director of the Padre Pio Center, Luiz Augusto, claims to incorporate the spirit of a Chinese master, Chung In-Lang. Maria Lucia studied with him, and now teaches "Lightbody Infusion" in seven countries. She returns to Esalen each year where she is eagerly awaited and enthusiastically received.

A Casa do Padre Pio (The House of Padre Pio) is supported by a group of about 200 patrons, members of the Associacao Holocentric Spritualistica Padre Pio de Pietrelecma (Pietrelecma was Padre Pio's birthplace). Yanez and I were told that a hospital is being planned by the Association, and that 20% of the beds will go to people unable to pay for medical treatment. Members of the

Association believe that spiritual work needs to be accompanied by social work. Also in the planning stages is a Padre Pio Community for poor people, a model that can be taken out into the world.

On August 3, we visited Luiz Augusto de Queiroz at his bank in Rio de Janeiro. He told us that he has a Jewish name that was originally brought to Brazil by the Dutch when controlled part of the Northeast. Luiz Augusto's father is from Serra, and his mother is from Rio. His grandmother came over from Portugal when she was pregnant. She was renowned as a medium and was said to have transmitted complex medical and philosophical information. She had 15 children, and worked with people in the neighborhood, transmitting messages from their deceased loved ones. Neither Luiz Augusto's mother nor father had any inclinations toward mediumship but when he was in the fourth grade he began to experience mediumistic phenomena. Luiz Augusto reported the phenomena to his parents and they supported his interest. He knew of his grandmother's mediumship and when she was dying in 1983 she asked Luiz Augusto to continue her work.

He told us that after his grandmother's death the phenomena increased. He went to study at the Frei Luiz Shrine when he was 29 because when he was 16 he had met Dr. Rochalima, the founder of the Shrine. His grandmother had advised that he go there because she had done social work at the Shrine, and Rochalima treated him "like a son."

In 1993, a friend gave Luiz Augusto a book about Padre Pio, and he put it on his bookshelf, unread. Luiz Augusto left the Frei Luiz Shrine in 1995, sensing that a new chapter in his spiritual life was about to begin. In 1996, he heard a voice identifying itself as that of Padre Pio. The voice told Luiz Augusto that they would work together. The book fell off the bookshelf while he was asleep that night. He read the inscription from his friend: "Muito gosto, my friend. Padre Pio will always be at your side to accompany and protect you." Luiz Augusto's began to "talk" with Padre Pio through intuition, clairvoyance, and—on occasion—auditorially. In 1997, he started meeting weekly with friends who were interested in spiritual matters; Maria Lucia Sauer was a member of this group.

Luiz Augusto continues to work in the bank he owns because it helps him remain a "balanced" person. On Mondays, the group holds study sessions that involve discussions as well as "energizing therapy" treatments by Luiz Augusto. The group studies the Kabala and other spiritual systems such as the work of Swami Yogananda. We told Luiz Augusto that we appreciated our time together and looked forward to our visit to the House of Padre Pio that evening.

With a friend of ours, Sergio Schilling, who had just arrived from Chile, we arrived at the House at 7:00 PM. Before we started the session with the

healers, Maria Lucia suggested that we begin to pray so that we would have "a more intense experience." At 7:25PM we entered the waiting room, guided by a woman dressed in white. There was absolute silence, except for soft relaxing music, and the hum of an air conditioner. There were 13 women and 10 males in the waiting room, all of them praying. Everybody waited to be guided into the darkened healing room by the woman who tried not to disturb the prayers when she indicated to people that they were next to experience "Light Infusion."

There was complete silence in the waiting room which was suffused with a soft red light. A black curtain separated the waiting room from the area where the healing sessions took place. The floor of the waiting room was covered by a colored carpet. Yanez recalled, "I was sitting against the wall, so a beautiful painted landscape named 'Hope' was in back of me. I could not distinguish the specific pathologies of the people in the waiting room with the exception of a dark-skinned woman who seemed to have a short leg. There was a table with some glasses and water in one corner of the room; a vase of three beautiful white, red, and pink roses graced the table. I took a closer look at the painted landscape in back of me and could see the face of 'Hope,' which thrilled me. I was so overcome with emotion that I closed my mouth and began to cry softly."

We waited for two hours, while clients entered and left the healer's area. Yanez remembered that "during that time, I closed my eyes and experienced a light show. There was a sudden flash of lights, the same lights that have appeared in my prayers on several occasions. Finally my time had come and the lady in white took my hand. When I walked through the black curtain, I noted that some mediums were sitting on a black sofa, while others were standing by a wooden table made up like a bed covered with white sheets. Some healers had their arms elevated, and some were making strange noises. I counted a total of 16 healers. Once I reclined on the table, they began some sort of examination followed by the restoration of my energy. They started touching some of my acupuncture points, with subtle gentleness and love. Specifically, they touched my three-thumb point, my thymus point, my liver and spleen point, and a point in my ankle. They stretched my hips in order to reach the latter point. They proceeded to touch areas all over my body. At times, when they touched me, their arms started to vibrate. It felt really wonderful."

Yanez continued, "They paused before touching my nose, passing their fingers up and down the very place where I once had surgery due to a chronic allergy. And finally they checked my carotid pulse. The 'light show' continued until I was told that I could go back to the waiting room."

My experience differed from that of Yanez. I did not see "lights" in the waiting room but saw several once I was on the bed in the healers' area. I assumed that the tiny lights were painted on the ceiling with some sort of

phosphorescent substance. However, I closed my eyes and the lights were as vibrant as ever. Schilling told us that when he was in the healer's area, he experienced one large light above the table. It resembled the moon and floated slowly across the ceiling during his healing session.

The three of us had the opportunity to speak to some of the mediums after the sessions had ended. All of them had come to the House of Padre Pio as a result of different life experiences, but each spoke of the inspiration they derived from Padre Pio, either through what they knew about him or from a sense of "presence" when they entered the House.

Postscript

Sergio Schilling left us the following day, carrying my shirt with him. However, the laboratories in Chile told him that a DNA analysis required a judicial order. Yanez took my undershirt with him to have it analyzed by a medical laboratory in Mexico in July 2006. Despite the passage of one year, the stain was still red; had it been blood, the color would have changed to brown. The laboratory examination concluded that there was no trace of blood in the stain and conjectured the substance had been vegetable dye.

In March 2006, I received my prostate examination report from Kaiser-Permanente where I had been tested twice a year since his radiation treatment in 2001. My PSA level was 0.5, about the same as it had been for four years. The report concluded with the statement, "We will now check you only once a year since you are remaining stable." In 2010, my PSA was 0.3, and remained at that level in 2011 and 2012. The effectiveness of the treatment cannot be measured by PSA levels, of course, because "Dr. Frederic" had worked with the "perispirit," not the physical body. Nevertheless, our experience with the lights, sights, and sites of Brazilian healers provided an experience that was unique for us, but part of the everyday reality for many Brazilians.

Conclusion

It is easy to dismiss the topic of mediumistic surgery as fakery, abetted by gullible clients and their friends. Sleight of hand is doubtless present in some instances, including those where practitioners are well-meaning and attempt to bolster the recovery of their clients by "putting on a show." However, mediumistic surgery can be investigated from other perspectives as well. Greenfield (1994) has pointed out that communication of the symbolic content of a culture's belief system during mediumistic surgery may well impact the physiology of clients. In Western allopathic medicine, treatment is conducted

as if human beings were independent and autonomous, not parts of their socioeconomic system. In mediumistic surgery and related interventions, symbolic information, analogous to the suggestions made by psychotherapists who use hypnosis in the Western world, may be transduced to the belief systems of clients. In turn, this information may affect the client's endocrine system, immune system, neuropeptide system, and the rest of the psychoendocrinoneuroimmunological network.

This ability to respond positively to information that is presented symbolically may have had adaptive value in human evolution (Rock & Krippner, 2011, p. 92). Early humans who lacked placebo responses, who were not highly suggestible, and who were impervious to community bonding, ritual, and imagery may have died prematurely. If so, their genes dropped out of the gene pool leaving behind individuals who were capable of linking imagination with self-healing, a trait that can be used to advantage today by both mediumistic and allopathic surgeons.

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Table 1

Case 1

Male, age 35, economist

Chief complaint: heartburn for 7 years

Procedure: introduction and twist of a gauze-tipped steel forceps in nostril.

Pain: no

Cytological description: Ciliated columnar cells and scattered globet cells, erythrocytes, neutrophils and coccal forms of bacteria

Case 2

Female, age 56, elementary education, housewife

Chief complaint: benign breast nodules, goiter, joint pain

Procedure: breast incision with tissue extraction and suture.

Pain: yes

Microscopic description: superficial mature adipose tissue.

Case 3

Male, age 58, pharmacy technician

Chief complaint: alcoholic liver disease, chronic and disabling back pain in the last 5 years and hypermetropia.

Procedure: Corneal scraping and needle introduction at the wrist

Pain: no

Cytological description: anucleated squames and stratified squamous cells

Outcome: end of back pain, higher well-being and report of decreasing of refractive error.

Case 4

Female, age 40, physical education teacher

Chief complaint: macular cyst, lower abdominal pain for 4 years

Procedure: 1) right lower quadrant abdominal skin incision, tissue removal, and suture. 2) Tissue extraction from bulbar conjunctive.

Pain: no

Microscopic description: Normal skin and adult subcutaneous adipose tissue.

Outcome: report of partial pain relief and improvement of visual acuity

Case 5

Female, age 48, illiterate, cook

Chief complaint: headache for 8 years due to a chronic sinusitis with polyps in maxillary sinus

Procedure: introduction and twist of a gauze-tipped steel forceps in nostril.

Pain: no

Cytological description: stratified squamous cells, ciliated columnar cells with scattered goblet cells, and

Outcome: no change

Case 6

Male, age 59, accountant

Chief complaint: visual loss due to retinal hemorrhage

Procedure: corneal scraping

Pain: no

Cytological description: Anucleated squames and stratified squamous cells

Outcome: no change

Case 7

Male, age unknown

Procedure: introduction and twist of a gauze-tipped steel forceps in nostril.

Cytological description: Ciliated columnar cells and scattered globet cells, erithrocytes, neutrophils and coccal forms of bacteria.

Case 8

Male, age unknown

Procedure: Skin incision and back tumor removal

Gross description: well circumscribed yellow mass, weight: 210g

Microscopic description: A superficial circumscribed and expansile benign neoplasm composed of mature adipose tissue.

Case 9

Male, age unknown

Procedure: molar tooth extraction

Microscopic description: inflammation of the connective tissue surrounding the dental care.

Case 10

Male, age unknown

Procedure: introduction and twist of a gauze-tipped steel forceps in nostril

Cytological description: squamous cells, neutrophils and coccal forms of bacteria.

Case 1

Case 2

Case 3

Case 4

SHIFTING MODES OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE INTERACTIONAL DYNAMICS OF KOREAN SHAMAN RITES

Daniel A. Kister

A shamanic community's world is rooted in the interaction of consciousness of shamans, spirits, and believers. That world comes to life in the body-mind interaction of ritual. Mircea Eliade has stressed that the role of a shaman is to manipulate the spirits (1964: 8, 16). This presumably refers to a shaman's manipulation of spirits' modes of consciousness in their attitudes toward human beings. The spirits also manipulate the shaman as their medium. This is a matter of belief. At the same time, shamans manipulate the consciousness of participants as they bring their world of belief to life as a holistic mental, physical, inter-relational reality. This is a matter of experience. This chapter explores the dynamics of shifting modes of consciousness in this multifaceted interactional process.

1. Movement toward the Supernatural in a Jeju Village Rite

Shamanic activity is commonly thought to have its wellsprings in a shaman's trance. Like many shaman rites, however, village New Year's rites on the southern Korean island of Jeju have their source in a community's movement toward its gods. Villagers come together on a February morning around the first full moon of the lunar year to celebrate the rite. Its stated purpose is to honor the village guardian and founder god and seek blessings for village wellbeing. As manifest in the symbolic and dramatic ritual actions, however, the unstated purpose is to reinforce villagers' awareness of themselves as a community bond together not just by blood and local ties, but by enduring ties with their supernatural ancestry. They seek renewed bonding with their ancestral gods in the expectation that they will reciprocate with a movement toward them. They expect a concrete manifestation of the gods' presence

during the rite and later blessings for the coming year. In some shamanic cultures, the thrust of a community's ritual activity is toward a distant, mystic spirit world reached by a shaman in trance. In the Korean shamanic tradition, however, the spirit world takes shape before the community's eyes in physical ritual actions.

1.1 Intentional Consciousness

One village rite honors the founder god as the Grandmother. A band of shamans perform the rite in an open-air shrine enclosed by lava rock near a huge old hackberry tree from after sunrise to almost noon. The world of the rite initially comes to life in at least some villagers' consciousness in their care to be ritually clean of sexual intercourse, menstruation, and food such as pork, which the Grandmother God does not like. The interactional thrust of the action takes concrete, physical form when female family representatives express their intent to renew bonding with the deity by presenting food offerings at a long altar.

The rite itself begins as the officiating shaman, traditionally male on Jeju, manipulates a shift in villagers' minds from intentional to imaginative modes of consciousness. Dressed in simple, yet elegant ritual garb, he first chants a lengthy welcome to the Grandmother while doing a stately dance to the solemn beat of drum, gong, and bell. As the chants continue, they have a potential to draw villagers' minds away from the cares and fancies of everyday life into the world of their supernatural heritage. The droning chants calm the mind, drawing the mind's mental rhythms into sync with the physical rhythms of the music. At the same time, the chants draw upon the communal mythic imagination to give villagers' world of belief temporal and spatial form. Beginning with the primordial separation of earth from heaven, the chants include a litany of Korean mountains and rivers, the capital cities of various periods of Korean history, natural sites on Jeju. They speak of gods in charge of heaven, earth, the other world, human beings, mountains, and waters, recounting tales of their adventures or love life. As is said of myth-making in general, the chanting of the myths is intentional. It "starts from an attitude, an act of the feeling and will" that asserts communal village life as a sacred heritage from time immemorial (Cassirer 1955: II, 69). Finally, the gates are believed to open for gods to enter.

The shaman then does a gradually quickening dance, counterclockwise then clockwise, while waving bamboo branches. The dance and accompanying drum beat aim to manipulate the deity's consciousness into engaged presence with the shaman and villagers while providing a physical vehicle for the deity to manipulate the consciousness of the shaman in possession. The dancing and

drumming appear to alter the shaman's mental state, drawing him into calm contemplation or excited trance. They have the power to alter villagers' consciousness as well, raising intent to a level of keen expectancy. At one point, the dance gets faster; and all stand. Classic shamanic worlds are rooted in a two-way intentional movement: believers to the supernatural and supernatural to believers in trance possession, dramatic action, or symbolic sign. In the present rite, the movement now suddenly shifts from villagers' intent to renew bonding with the Grandmother to her believed intent to respond by physically manifesting her presence. The shaman places her symbolic clothes on the altar as a sign that she is now present. He verifies this by divination, tossing knives, old coins, and little cups until they land in a favorable combination. When he then proclaims the gods' oracles, her consciousness presumably gets fused with his as medium and through him with the villagers.

Entranced shamans are said to experience an "integrative mode of consciousness" (Winkelman 2000: 7). In shamanic cultures, trance is sometimes presumed to permit integration with the mind of a god or spirit. A Jeju shaman once said that he experiences no special awareness of supernatural presence at this key moment, but some shamans no doubt experience something of the mental fusion of an actor with the mind of the figure he plays. For their part, Jeju villagers experience an integrative mode of consciousness in their engagement with the rite's physical action. In symbiotic interaction between physical experience and belief, the physical event reinforces belief, while villagers' belief in supernatural presence gives the event meaning and makes them, along with the shaman and deity, the ritual agents. As is said of many cognitive processes, villagers' integrative consciousness is shaped also "by demands of social interaction" (Sebanz 2007: 2350). It is shaped by their engagement with the shaman, the deity, and one another. On one occasion, a few women joined in dance to greet the god, and what she said occasionally aroused a ripple of laughter. Most persons, however, remain in solemn silence as expectancy gives way to awed contemplation.

1.2 Alterations of Consciousness

An altered state of consciousness (ASC) has been defined as "a qualitative alteration in the overall pattern of mental functioning, such that the experiencer feels his consciousness is radically different from the way it functions ordinarily" (Tart 1972: 1203). A researcher can take a subjective approach to what goes on in the minds of shamans or participants in the interactional dynamics of a ritual and ask them what they feel. Most, however, are not used to introspective probing. One can also take an objective approach, relying "on

observations of the person's physiology or behaviour," with the caution that "states that are subjectively very different may look similar to an outside observer" (Blackmore 2009: 26a). Here and elsewhere in this chapter, I sometimes gage what goes on in thought and feeling by what persons say or do. In the main, however, I take a more distanced objective approach. I analyze the symbolic and dramatic potential of physical ritual actions to alter and express modes of mental and emotional activity.

To think of Jeju villagers' mental shifts in the course of the New Year's rite in terms of discrete "states" does not adequately explain them. Trance and meditative alterations measurable by distinct brain-waves may be thought of as discrete mental states; but the qualitative shifts in consciousness that the Jeju rite gives rise to can better be understood as what William James has called "concrete pulses of experience" (1977: 127). They are functional shifts or surges in a continuous span or stream. In line with James' metaphor, it has been proposed that "just as light becomes both wave and particles" in modern theoretical physics, so, too, "consciousness is both substantive and transitive, both a pulsing and continuous wave" (Hunt 1995: 116). The shifting modes of consciousness that give vitality to a shaman rite may be both discrete, substantive states and pulses in a continuous flow. In any case, not even substantive alterations in a shaman's consciousness between trance and non-trance are like flipping channels on the TV.

If ritual activity achieves renewed bonding with the supernatural, moreover, it does so not by extraordinary fluctuations in the shaman's brain waves. It does so in accordance with the dynamics of ordinary mental activity. Human bonding commonly begins with an awareness of attractive qualities in another person; and in the case of sexual bonding, the engaged mode of consciousness may temporarily reach ecstatic intensity. An enduring bond, however, depends not so much on intense feeling as on a person's conscious or subconscious intention toward the other and on belief in the other's intention toward oneself. The intent is manifested in physical actions over time for the mutual wellbeing and enhanced personal wholeness of both. On the religious level, bonding with God in Christian spirituality may begin with a felt attraction; and for some persons, it may temporarily rise to mystic ecstasy. Lasting bonding, however, depends rather on what is called "purity of intention," a person's conscious intent to act out of love for God and God's people. If a Jeju village rite achieves bonding with the ancestral god, it is not due to a radical shift in the shaman's mental experience. It is due to the intent of villagers as expressed in their offerings and in the god's believed intentional response. The mutual interaction comes to life experientially for the villagers in their ever the shifting modes of consciousness—believing, intentional, expectant, imaginative, contemplative,

inter-relational, prayerful, playful—as reinforced and expressed in the rite's physical actions.

Jeju villagers have little interest in consciousness as such. Different from Buddhists, they do not seek enhanced consciousness as an end in itself. Different from Christians, they do not seek spiritual immersion in God. When Jeju villagers stand in contemplative awe listening to the words of the Grandmother God, some may experience an alteration in consciousness similar to that of meditating Buddhists or Christians, along with the changes in brain waves that quiet contemplation can give rise to. The physical drama of the event, however, has a potential to draw villagers into a more holistic mode of contemplative awareness. It focuses attention not inwardly on nothingness or an amorphous divine presence, but outwardly on a public manifestation of the supernatural as a mental, physical, inter-relational event. The danger of illusion can be just as great as in private meditation or ecstatic trance. Physically centered and socially focused as the mind is, however, it is free from the tendency of private contemplation toward narcissistic self-absorption.

1.3 Body-Mind Interaction

Whatever philosophers or neuropsychologists may think of the intrinsic spiritual or physical nature of human consciousness, the conscious and subconscious mental activity of Jeju villagers at work in the dynamics of during the New Year's rite is intimately bound with its physical expression. Their world of belief needs periodic physical reinforcement in the rite to maintain its vitality. Nor is the spirit world itself a mystic, Platonic other world. It comes to life before their eyes in the rite's physical action, and the gods and spirits need the physical media of the ritual actions and the shaman's person to interact with the villagers. As the New Year's rite continues, villagers' world of belief achieves its most manifest physical expression in ritual games and a shared meal of pheasant soup. Sequences of Korean shamanic rites often begin not "Let us pray," but "Let's play." As the Jeju shaman and his assistants toss large rice cakes high into the air and run around catching them, contemplation shifts to a mode of playful consciousness. This may seem to involve a radical shift in villagers' consciousness, but actually it does not. For the play is prayerful play. In some villagers' experience, the action may unfold ritualistically, with little resonance in mind or heart; but for those personally engaged, participation in the gaming and eating amounts to a physical assertion of belief in bonding with a supernatural presence.

At the end of the Jeju rite, surges of expectancy once again take over as women have their family fortunes privately divined by individual shamans in

grains of rice counted out in the hand. Here, however, the expectancy is not simply for renewed bonding with the spirit world. It springs from family affection and anxiety about family wellbeing. The women want to know from the spirits about family prospects in facing life's threats for the coming year. In its mythic, physical, and social dimensions, the world of the New Year's rite is communal. As a phenomenological reality, however, it is multiple—different for each in accord with each one's belief-awareness and mental engagement with the physical action. This comes to the fore in this private divination. Finally, a chicken is killed and tossed out to rid the village of evil and potentially disruptive spirits.

As is common in shamanic cultures, it may be hoped that the gods cease to be present once the physical action ends, lest they have a disruptive influence on village life. As a holistic mental, physical, communal entity, the experienced world of the rite itself ceases to exist once the action ends. As an effective means of support in daily life, however, it must exist in the splintered form of individuals' conscious or subconscious memory until the next performance. The action of the rite began not out of the officiating shaman's trance, but out of the village community's intention. Its effectiveness at the end is judged not by the intensity of his trance, but by enhanced village harmony, occasional experiences of blessings during the new year, and villagers' heightened sense of personal identity as having a share in their supernatural heritage (see also Kister 1997: 7-11).

2. Family Anxieties Underlying the Movement of a Jeju Family Rite

Korean shamanist believers do not usually hold a rite simply out of an intent to renew bonding with a deity. As in other shamanic cultures, they commonly turn to the gods and spirits out of anxiety stirring in consciousness about threats to their daily livelihood. Koreans take pride in holding their own in life's dangers and threats, "always game for a risk, plucky, quick to react, unbending in failure" (Rhi 2012: 695). Still, they readily turn to supernatural forces for support. Like village rites, rites held in a Jeju home unfold by way of interaction among shamans, gods and spirits, and participants as they bring a world of belief to renewed life as a physical, mental, inter-relational reality. Here, however, the dynamics of the action is rooted less in a movement toward supernatural presence than in down-to-earth anxieties about family wellbeing.

In a three-day rite that began one morning in a Jeju urban home, the family renewed contact with the supernatural for assurance about three anxious concerns hovering in family consciousness: concern for the future focused on

the family children; concern in the present for a son with a persistent psychological problem; memories of the past focused on deceased loved ones. The family's movement toward the supernatural took concrete form initially in setting up small altar tables with food offerings for gods and ancestral spirits. The action begins as the officiating shaman, wearing a red garment and traditional gentleman's broad-brimmed horsehair hat, sits with his hour-glass shaped drum before the altars, rings his bell to direct the gods' attention to the family home, and chants.

Mythic chants accompanied by the drum take up a large part of the whole rite. In shamanic cultures, drumming is commonly thought to draw shamans out of the world of ordinary life into a supernatural realm by inducing trance. In a Jeju rite, the rhythmic chants and drumming have the creative potential to draw imaginations out of the home into mythic Jeju history and geography. As in a village rite, they at the same time settle family members' minds in peace. As they drone on endlessly, however, they readily take on a ritualistic life of their own, impinging on consciousness by generating a kind of mind-freeing boredom. This frees persons to drift mentally and emotionally in and out of the rite's sacred world in line with their own conscious or subconscious memories of the past and anxieties for the present and future. In the present rite, conscious engagement with the chants seemed sporadic for both family and shamans. The grandmother's attention alternated between the chants' mythic history and history closer to home: how her husband's participation in the Korean War influenced his drinking habits; how some persons in Jeju conflicts killed with guns, some with stones; how stoning is worse because it takes longer.

As the rite progresses, the shaman at times engineers conversational exchanges between the family and deceased ancestors. From a believer's viewpoint, the mind of the deceased then fuses with that of the shaman as the deceased use him as medium. From a psychological viewpoint, the shaman's mind fuses with that of the deceased as empathetic actor and with that of the assembled family as empathetic psychotherapist. As dramatic regisseur, moreover, the shaman alters currents of the family's consciousness as he engages them in the action. In the New Year's rite, the deity speaks while villagers passively watch and listen. In the more active engagement of a family rite, family members enter actively into give-and-take exchanges with deities and deceased ancestors. Toward the beginning, the grandmother happily greets her deceased mother-in-law. Later, she weeps when her deceased husband tells her, "You've suffered a lot." Through the shaman, the husband himself sheds a few tears and promises, "In the future, everything will go well." The dramatic engagement has a potential to impinge on consciousness more forcefully than passive contemplation.

2.1 Concern for Children's Future

In mid-afternoon, a second shaman manipulates the feelings of the grandmother and her daughter-in-law as he gives dramatic life and shape to a two-way interactional movement with the spirit world rooted in anxiety about the future of the family children. In the Korean shamanist tradition, the providential care of children takes shape in the image of the Grandma God. Here that image is alive with contrary yin/yang motions of her intentions for the children. Portraying her dark side, the shaman comically teases the women with two threats of disease for the children as symbolized by two remaining leaves of a dead plant. Walking before them as the deity, he offers them a pear, apple, and rice cakes, but then snatches them away when they try to accept. All laugh. He acts as if to offer the dead plant to the women, but then suddenly jumps on the leaves. In the end, however, he removes the threats, destroying the two remaining leaves and tossing the dead plant at the grandmother, who laughs. Like much Korean laughter, the black humor of the chaotic episode is rooted in a Korean sensitivity to life's dark threats.

The shaman then takes the role of the kindly Grandma, who promises health. He sprays a mouthful of cleansing water on the family, rings his bell at the house door, then sets two pots of live camellia sprigs before the women and divines the health status of the grandchildren, based on the leaf configuration of each sprig. The family laughs. Finally, the shaman puts the two pots on a small altar in the parents' bedroom as a physical sign of the Grandma God's protective care.

This seemingly naïve episode belies the complex currents of interpersonal, body-mind engagement that bring its world to life. Identifying with the Grandma God as actor, manipulated by her as medium, and/or insuring her concern for the children by entertaining her, the shaman at the same time entertains and challenges the family women with the yin/yang potential of spirit-world providence. It is said that in the course of human evolution, mankind developed a "prayer function." We pray to "supernatural forces who possess both the power as well as the inclination to assist us" in order to ward off anxieties about death (Alper 2006: 166). This Jeju playlet serves this function, but it raises the women's level of anxiety before easing it. The ominous Grandma's teasing initially throws belief into chaos by calling providence into question. The kindly Grandma then settles the mind in trusting peace. As in the cathartic manipulation of consciousness of Aristotelian drama, the peace is felt all the more intensely because it follows abruptly upon anxiety. The trust is tempered, moreover, with a mature sense of religious realism. It includes recognition that the image of the Grandma is not always as caring as

it seems. Common folk though they may be, the women know as well as sophisticated philosophers and neuropsychologists that images of reality do not necessarily accord with reality. Like the audiences of mid-century Theater of the Absurd, they take comic pleasure in the discrepancy.

At the 2011 conference of the International Society for Shamanistic Research, Diana Riboli noted that in Nepalese and Malaysian shamanic traditions, ritual signs are not just symbols of supernatural presence; they are that presence. The same is true of Orthodox and Catholic understanding of the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharistic bread. In this holistic mode of thought, the plant placed in the parents' bedroom is not just a symbol of the caring Grandma God's presence; it is that presence. A concrete focus of prayer, it transforms the room itself, where children are conceived and traditionally birthed, into a sacred space. Of course, ritual and prayer complement everyday means that a Jeju family takes in practical consciousness to insure children's sound growth and wellbeing—good education and loving family care.

2.2 Soul Retrieval

The following morning, the shaman welcomes the Buddhistic Kings of the World of the Dead in three hours of chants and ritual activity. He then gives dramatic shape to an intentional movement toward a spirit world inhabited not so much by deities as by human souls. The movement is rooted in an anxious need to retrieve the lost soul of the grandmother's second son. He had a good job as a government official, but he was thought to have lost his soul as a student fifteen years earlier, after his father had abandoned the family. He tried to commit suicide and had free-floating fears about robbers. The family's world of belief comes to life in the rite with less lively interaction among shaman, spirits, and family than in the previous sequence; but the dynamics by which it does so is firmly rooted in psycho-somatic activity on the part of the son.

As is said of Taiwanese rites, the healing action centers "on the patient rather than on the disease" (Gallin:1978: 177). As the son sits meditatively, the shaman chants to the quickening beat of drums. He lays a wetted T-shirt on the son's back, dances a quickening dance, and then waves over the son a bell with multicolored ribbons attached and small knives with white paper strands. Finally, he spurts a mouthful of water on him. During a lunch break, another shaman tosses up a rice cake as a game to bribe spirits. The first shaman then sings a folk song, and several persons dance. To a galloping drum beat he then presses a knife on the son's seventh vertebra, where the soul is thought to enter, and on his fingers for blood circulation. Finally, to the drum's quick beat, he sends away unwanted spirits.

Bolstered by the assembled family's prayers, the action aims to heal on a mystic level by manipulating either the lost soul to return or other spirit forces to send it back. It heals on an experiential level by manipulating the son himself. Of healing in shamanic cultures, it is said that "ASC are a core element of the shaman's therapeutic repertoire" (Winkelman 2000: 193). The healing dynamics here involves no noticeable altered state on the shaman's part; but to succeed, the action needs to achieve qualitative alterations in the son's self-consciousness. It aims to transmute his fears into renewed trust—trust in himself, in his family's loving care, and in the power of supernatural and ancestral presences. It does so not in a sudden shift from one discrete state to a radically different state as the soul returns. Rather, it aims at what in Buddhist and Christian contemplation is called "settling the mind into its natural state," where healing occurs "as the mind gradually settles in its own calm, luminous, ground state" (Wallace 2009: 59). For success, however, the son must experience more than a temporary surge of calm. As the chief healing agent, he must consciously or subconsciously let go of mental fixations that contribute to soul loss and come to experience over time a radical new awareness of his holistic situation: body, mind, and relationships with family and supernatural presences. Modern psychotherapeutic healing activates the symbiotic relationship between mind and body, but often without the added healing power of trust in the supernatural.

In many cultures, soul is thought to be a purely spiritual force. It is said that "every culture has perceived reality as consisting of two distinct substances or realms: the physical and the spiritual. . . . Things comprised of spirit are immune to the laws of physical nature (i.e., to change, death, and decay). That which exists as a part of the spiritual realm is consequently perceived as being permanent, fixed, eternal, everlasting" (Alper 2006: 80-81). An eminent Korean scholar understands the nature of the Korean shamanist soul in this vein (Kim T. 1997: 296). Korean shamanist believers, however, have no more interest in distinctions between physical and spiritual, body and mind, temporal and eternal than in the nature of consciousness or the spirit world itself. As in some other cultures, however, the son's lost soul is perhaps better understood as a "personal vital force" (Lewis 1989: 25). Spiritual or not, as a human life force it must be a seat of personal consciousness, but somehow distinct from the consciousness of the son as he sits before the shaman.

Whatever its intrinsic nature, the Korean shamanist soul, as an integral force in the human person, needs the body. In the Christian dogma of the "resurrection of the body," continued personal existence after death ultimately involves the whole person, including somehow the body. In a similar holistic understanding of the human person, the Korean soul must be called back to the

body when lost; and it needs the physical expression of ritual for continued existence after death. A Jeju shaman once surmised that the deceased continue in existence after death only so long as they are summoned in the physical media of family ancestral rites. In shamanic cultures where the soul leaves the body in ecstatic trance to commune with spirits in a distant, mystic realm, it may not be so dependent on the body. Like the spirit world itself, however, the Korean soul needs the body.

2.3 Concern for Family Deceased

During a prolonged break in the family rite, preparations are made for a sequence rooted in anxieties about death. On the belief level, the movement is now toward a world inhabited by souls of the dead, "the good place." The rite cleanses the path to the good place for the grandmother's deceased husband and his parents, settling their spirit-consciousness in peace. A work of the communal Jeju creative imagination, the rite's world comes to life in further physical-mental engagement among shaman, spirits, family, and the deceased. It takes shape visually as three conjoined paths, one for each of the deceased, in the form of long white papers spread out on the floor toward the altar area. The paths are marked off by ten rows of small, arching, bamboo gates with human-shaped white papers representing gate keepers. In the role of the psychopomp spirit, the Messenger from the Kings of the World of the Dead, a young woman shaman stands and chants, while holding white paper strands, paper banners of the Kings, and a small bell with multicolored ribbons. As the Messenger, she says, "We come empty-handed, and we leave empty-handed." As one of the deceased, she later weeps as she tells the grandmother and her son, "You'll still have suffering, but not so bad as in the past."

In no evident state of trance, but her mind presumably fused with that of the Messenger as actress, possessed medium, or both, the shaman later dances around the ten rows of gates. Chanting as she dances, she holds knives, then the live plants from the children's rite, then the white paper strands. Tapping with a stick, she probes for holes and rocks along the path, then sweeps it with the paper strands. An assistant sprinkles the path with water as dew and then scatters leaves to make walkable the path muddied by the dew. She scatters small white papers standing for butterflies, suggesting that the dead depart swiftly like butterflies. After a break, she moves along the gates, holding an incense burner, wielding knives, then waving bamboo branches. She moves quickly back and forth and around each row of gates, counterclockwise, clockwise. Her action may be thought of as a magical action aimed at inducing its double in a Platonic spirit world. The world of the dead is such a distant



Picture 1: The Messenger Spirit holding banners of the Kings of the World of the Dead before the path to that world (Jeju, 1994)

mystic world, but the spirit world exists physically right here before the family's very eyes in the action of the shaman as Messenger, ushering the deceased to destiny.

At the end, family members physically join the Messenger in so doing as key agents in the action. They put play money for the dead over each gate and real money over each row. Together with the shaman and her assistants, they then dismantle the gates, gathering everything and rolling it all up gradually toward the head of the paths at the altar area. Simultaneously, a small altar table for the Messenger is moved forward along the paths. On the belief level, the rite sends the loved one to destiny in the good place. On the experiential level, like any engaging dramatic action, it constitutes a "mental alchemy which

makes a gesture of a state of mind" (Artaud 1958: 66). It gives physical expression to a heartfelt intent to send the deceased to peace in the other world. It transmutes family resistance to death's separation into calm acceptance. It does so differently for each family member, depending on how long after death the rite is held, the vividness of the physical action, the degree of each one's relation to the deceased, and the strength of each one's belief in the rite's effect for the deceased.

As the three-day rite ends the next morning, beans are tossed outside, apparently to feed and rid the household of potentially disruptive spirits. As a holistic mental, physical, communal entity, the family's multifaceted world of belief then ceases to exist. The rite's physical activity succeeds experientially, however, if it has brought that world to life in a deeply felt experience that continues to exist in the dynamics of memory. Performed in the family home, the action transforms the home itself into a sacred realm in which belief in the gods and ancestral spirits can remain alive in personal consciousness during the mundane affairs of life long after the rite has ended (see also Kister 2010: 129-157).

3. Movement of the Supernatural to the Human in a Seoul Initiation Rite

The body-mind interaction of shamans, spirits, and believers constitutes the life-springs of a Seoul initiation rite, but the direction of the interactional movement differs. In the two-way movement between human beings and supernatural presence in Jeju rites, the initiative begins with the human. In a Seoul-area initiation rite, it comes from the side of the supernatural, beginning with the prolonged physical, psychic, and social distress of the "spirit illness." Inexplicable in terms of ordinary medical diagnosis, the affliction is believed to signal the call of a deity to shamanhood, in Seoul usually for a woman. Like the call of God to baptism or priesthood in the Christian tradition, the call to shamanhood is believed to be rooted in the creative intent of a supernatural being. It may also spring from the disturbed consciousness of a spirit of the dead that seeks a kind of reincarnation in her person. Eroding self-esteem and often leaving her on the fringes of society, the spirit illness causes major disruption in her physical and mental wellbeing. It is ultimately not destructive, however, but life-enhancing. It begins a dynamic process of alterations in consciousness that leads to new birth for the initiate and enhanced belief for the community.

On Jeju Island, a shaman's initiation process reaches a climax in a rite that provides public ratification of shamanic status by a believing community,

much like priestly ordination in the Christian tradition. In the Seoul area, the process reaches its climax in a psycho-dramatic ritual of initiatory healing, the Rite of (the God's) Descent. Like the affliction itself, the dynamics of the healing action is believed to be rooted in a deity's intentional consciousness. Now, however, the god works through the deft manipulation of the initiate's thoughts and feelings by the officiating shaman. Most persons initially resist the call to shamanhood. When successful, however, the initiation rite yields healing re-birth by altering the initiate's conscious or subconscious resistance, gradually transforming it into accepting belief.

Commonly held at a mountain shrine, the rite may begin on an afternoon and continue through much of the night to its climax the next morning (see Kister 2010: 7-13). The episodic movement progresses from purification procedures to lengthy sequences of dramatic and symbolic interaction with various deities. Far from a mystical mingling of supernatural and human consciousness, the transformational healing process, like the spirit illness, is an intense body-mind experience in which physical actions impinge upon the mind. Purificatory bathing serves to cleanse the mind and prepare it for change. A dance-like gesture releasing loop knots in a long white cloth nurtures a sense of release from the past's knotted pain and brooding feelings of regret and rancor called *han*. The shaking of a tree branch that shakes when held by the initiate as a believed manifestation of supernatural power has the potential to draw the mind into a sense of the mystery of being under the power of a god. As the Mountain God, the officiating shaman may weep for the initiate's hard life, drawing the initiate into a sense of intimacy with the deity. A game seeking out garments of gods whose roles the initiate will take as shaman can nurture a sense of enjoyment in serving them. The activity may sometimes turn chaotic, perhaps drawing the initiate and others present into a sense of the chaos that is said to characterize the Korean spirit world (Kim T. 1981: 150 ff.). As in a stream-of-consciousness novel, however, the chaos is ordered; and it leaves room for thoughts and feelings to drift in and out of the action into personal concerns of everyday life.

The dynamics of the transforming action commonly reaches its climax as the initiate, sometimes preceded by the officiant, "rides the blades." Dressed in the elaborate costume of the Spirit General, she stands barefoot on sharp, high-raised, rice-chopper blades, uninjured. The consciousness of a deity presumably fusing with hers, she proclaims for the first time in her life what are taken as divine oracles. It may be that, as is said of the transformative dynamics of initiation rites in other shamanic cultures, the physical pain of the action, "sharpened to the point where it is unbearable, subsequently abates, resulting in a sense of rebirth" (Hoppál 1992: 154-155). At the same time, the fact of



Picture 2: Riding the blades as the Spirit General (near Seoul, 1994)

standing high above the community in the role of the god and speaking the gods' words surely induces a compelling sense of renewed self-satisfaction and personal pride.

In the course of the rite, the officiant or initiate may at times enter mild trance. Different, however, from what is sometimes supposed to be the case in other shamanic cultures, the believed intent of the deity does not manifest itself in trance. It manifests itself in the whole body-mind transformational process. As is said of any shamanic healing, the process draws the initiate into a meaningful world (Levi-Strauss 1963: 197; Dow 1986: 56 ff.). It does so in a dramatic physical-mental process that moves her to accept her destiny at the center of a community's world of belief. The qualitative shift in her conscious-

ness is radical, and it may entail a sudden moment of enlightenment. Still, it is not a matter of a sudden switch from one state to another; it evolves in the course of the whole dramatic process. Throughout, the shaman manipulates shifting modes of the initiate's consciousness; but for the process to succeed, it must culminate in an act of the initiate's own will. As ultimately the chief agent in the healing drama, the initiate must herself assent to her new life of service of the gods and human beings in distress. Riding the blades gives climatic expression to both the god's intentional action for her and her assent.

The initiatory process invites alteration not only in the new shaman's consciousness, but also in that of the community of believers. For most persons present, riding the blades uninjured is a miracle. In itself a fabricated ritual miracle, it compels awed belief because it constitutes the climax of the real-life experience of the spirit illness, the anomalous nature of which gives evidence of supernatural action. If the new shaman's initiatory process alters community consciousness in the direction of belief, it is not by a sudden switch from a state of non-belief to belief. Like most religious conversion, it does so by a gradual convergence of currents of consciousness that allows persons to assent to the reality of supernatural presence acting in human life. Those that do assent ratify the god's call by their belief, thus contributing to the agency of the rite.

4. A Deceased Spirit's Involvement with Family in a Seoul Family Rite

Family rites constitute the main venue for a Seoul shaman's activity. A family may sponsor a rite simply to renew contact with gods and deceased ancestral spirits in a movement initiated by the family. More commonly, however, a family does so when family peace and harmony has been disrupted by prolonged illness, financial setbacks, family tensions, or death. The disruption is commonly believed to spring from the disturbed mental state of a deceased family member. As in an initiation rite, the movement thus originates in the spirit world, not from a deity, but from a spirit of the dead. The movement is not creative, moreover, but disruptive.

A rite may take place in the home or a shrine rented out for shamanic activity at the foot of one of the low lying mountains in the city. In sometimes chaotic sequences lasting a good part of a day, the spirit world comes to life in body-mind interaction of consciousness among shamans, spirits, and believers that is often more intense than in the Jeju family rite we saw. The shaman may slip into moments of mild trance; but like a Jeju shaman, she acts more out of an actress' imaginative empathy with the believed stance of gods and spirits and a psychotherapist's empathy with the thoughts and feelings of family

members. When asked what a successful shaman needs, an elderly Seoul shaman once spoke of belief and acting skills, not trance or possession. Even when in trance, a shaman maintains a stage director's practical awareness of the dramatic demands of the moment. She takes care to give apt theatrical expression to the individual identity of gods and deceased loved ones by means of changes of costume and gestures suited to the character of each: fierce Spirit General, solemn Big Dipper God, playful *Taegam*, a deceased kindly grandmother, this or that uncle with his graces and foibles. She stimulates awe in the presence of the supernatural through simple dramatic feats like balancing a pig's carcass on a large trident or large pots of rice on a liquor bottle. The awe often remains at the level of blank, thoughtless wonder, however, without stirring consciousness at any mental or emotional depth.



Picture 3: Shaman in a god's costume interacting with family in a rite for the deceased (Seoul, 1976)

As they continue throughout the day, sequences summoning the numerous deities can become purely ritualistic affairs that do not deeply engage consciousness on any level. Engagement gets intense, however, in a key sequence in which the shaman engineers encounters with a file of deceased family loved ones. When there is no particular family problem to be dealt with, this sequence can amount to a bitter-sweet family reunion charged. When there is a persistent problem, however, it can take the form of a spirited family council centered on interaction with the deceased whose disturbed state is thought to have given rise to the problem. Though sent to peace in earlier death rites, a deceased spirit can easily get disturbed by the remorse, regret, and rancor of *han*. Granted the continued bonds between deceased and family and the intimate connection between emotional states and physical expression in the Korean experience, the distraught spirit of the dead is thought somehow to give rise to physical disruption in the lives of the living.

In one rite, family disruption was thought to stem from the fact that the spirit-consciousness of the father was disturbed because he had not been able to leave a large inheritance to his wife and children. In another rite, it was thought that when the grandmother, a prominent shaman, had died twenty years earlier, a shaman friend of hers suggested that the family become Christians, which they did. It was now believed that this severance of the family's religious roots had given rise to the disruption of family life. Among the deceased summoned by the shaman was a generous uncle who had become a Catholic. Through the shaman, he gave them a large sum of money as a helpful gesture—money that the shaman had received from the family during the rite and now returned.

It is said that shamanistic healing is concerned mainly with the management of "emotions elicited in social interaction" (Winkelman 2000: 36). This is the case in such a ritual encounter. The shaman summons the distraught spirit to share in a process of mutual healing for both the deceased and the living. She aims to ease regrets of the deceased about life and any ill feelings harbored against the family. On the experiential level, she eases anxieties and mutual ill feelings that the disruption of family life may have spawned among the living themselves. She thus restores family wholeness. Speaking as a deceased loved one, she may give specific points of advice; but the dead often limit their advice to general words of encouragement like, "Don't worry, things will be OK."

5. Movement toward Life in a Seoul Death Rite

Especially disruptive of family peace is the crisis of death itself. Several weeks or months after the funeral, a family holds a rite to settle the spirit-consciousness

of the deceased in peace in “the good place” and ease family anxieties and grief. Like a Jeju rite for the dead, the body-mind interaction focuses on family, the dead, and supernatural presence. More clearly than in the Jeju rite we saw, however, the thrust of the rite is toward renewed engagement not only with the spirit world, but with life itself. The action brings into play, moreover, a much broader range of motions of consciousness than any of the rites we have surveyed. Though rooted in universal human anxieties concerning the death of a loved one, the rite’s multifaceted world constitutes a microcosmic projection of the Korean way of engagement with the phenomenal changes of life.

The Korean mindset is said to have its roots in shamanism. What this means is not always clear, but the world of a Seoul death rite is rooted in the sense of the mystery of the human person that the Jungian psychoanalyst Rhi Bouyong once spoke of as a core mark of the Korean bent of mind. The action is rooted, too, in the polar forces that the Korean culture scholar Kim Yeolgyu has been wont to find in the Korean psyche: *jeong* (deep personal affection) and *han* (the bitterness, regret, and rancor that taint relationships when *jeong* turns sour). The mental-physical interaction of the rite reflects the Korean holistic experience of human relationships, in which friendship is expressed physically and bonds of affection in traditional love songs are shadowed with anxiety about separation. The action of the rite is alive with other polar tendencies in Korean consciousness: It breathes an aura of the sensitivity to life’s dark woes and *han* that explains Koreans’ attraction to both Buddhist withdrawal and Christianity’s focus on the cross. On the other hand, it is charged with a Korean readiness to stand above life’s darksome threats and risks and celebrate life’s power in all its manifestations.

The action of a Seoul death rite takes shape in three dramatic sequences that draw their vitality from typical Korean modes of engagement with life. In the first, engagement with the deceased draws upon a Korean bent for “frank communication, mind to mind” (Rhi 2012: 694). In the second, an encounter with the Messenger from the World of the Dead manifests a Korean predilection for facing life’s threats with laughter and play. In the climactic third sequence, action centered on the psychopomp Princess Spirit draws upon Korean aesthetic sensibility to transform anxiety about separation in death into an assertion of life’s beauty and wonder.

5.1 Psycho-dramatic Interaction

In the first of these key sequences, human longing for the deceased loved one takes the form of a sometimes turbulent psycho-dramatic encounter. At the shaman’s cathartic manipulation, the living and, as is believed, the dead express

mutual misunderstandings and regrets as well as pent up *han* about the rupture of death. The healing effectiveness of the encounter for the living usually has little to do with trance. It depends on the shaman's ability to translate empathy with the mental states of the dead and the living into believable theatrical expression and on the intensity of the family's physical, mental, and emotional engagement—full of tears and sometimes sparked with Korean wit and laughter. In a rite offered by a widow for her recently deceased husband, the husband as portrayed by the shaman initially weeps for his death and faints. He then grabs his wife and sympathetically asks, "What will become of you alone in the future?" In response, the woman also bitterly weeps bitterly, grabbing hold of the deceased (the shaman). She then screams in irritation, "I said I wanted to die first. Why did you die first?" Husband and wife accuse each other of getting hot-tempered and get embroiled in a quarrel. They are parted, however, have a drink and smoke together, and are reconciled. On a comic note, the husband asks for a digestive to ease his stomach pain, to which the wife replies, "You've already died. Isn't that enough? Why do you, a dead person, want some medicine? In a more serious vein, he turns to his daughters-in-law, wishes them a happy life, and tells them to treat each other with affection. He tells his wife, "Please take good care of the housekeeping in my absence," at which the members of the family embrace one another and weep (Yi D. 1988: 167-168).

5.2 Comic Consciousness

The shaman continues to purge the bereaved family's pent-up feelings in the second key sequence, which focuses on anxieties the family may have about the risk of judgment for the deceased in the other world. She does so by switching from tears to laughter out of an Aristotelian instinct for the cathartic power of a dramatic movement that pits emotion against emotion. She takes the role of the Messenger from the Kings of the World of the Dead. Like the Jeju Grandma God in charge of children's wellbeing, this spirit can have two faces. In the Jeju rite, the Messenger is the helpful psychopomp who sweeps the path to other world and guides the deceased to peace. In a Seoul rite, he is a fearsome figure sent to seize the deceased to judgment. Tapping Korean comic sensibilities and sense of play, however, the shaman sometimes portrays the Messenger as a grotesque clown. Mouth stuffed with rice cake, he tries to lasso the soul of the deceased, which is symbolized by white papers draped on a table of offerings, while the family fends him off in chaotic play. The play perhaps aims at entertaining the spirit to ease his threatening stance. It surely serves to ease the sorrow and anxiety that clouds family hearts. In the dynamics of what Artaud calls "laughter's power of physical and anarchic dissociation," it invites

the family to stand above grief and celebrate this ultimate risk of life with almost joyous glee (1958: 42). The contrast in pulses of consciousness aroused by laughter here and tears in the previous sequence is not just between contrasting emotions. It is between radically different existential thrusts in Korean consciousness. A mind that expresses itself in tears is sensitive to the woes of life. One that expresses itself in laughter, as the poet Baudelaire has said, engages with life by standing above them (1981: 318). As for the Messenger himself, the figure before the family's eyes is not a theatrical double of his real self in a distant spirit world. For those in the family that truly believe in the rite, he is that spirit.

5.3 Aesthetic Consciousness

The climactic third key episode is rooted in a universal desire for peace for the deceased. The shaman here makes another shift in her cathartic manipulation of the sorrowing family's thoughts and feelings. Ceasing to tickle the funny bone of consciousness, she taps wellsprings of aesthetic sensibility. As the Abandoned Princess, the archetypal shaman spirit and psychopomp on the Korean mainland, she gives final shape to the world of death in archetypal imagery of flowers, thorns, and a gate. According to myth, the Princess was tossed out by her royal father as a baby to die; but years later, she saved the king from death and came to have power to lead persons through death to peace. Dressed in the Princess' elegant royal robes, the shaman leads the deceased around paper flower-covered tables of offerings before a similarly bedecked "gate of thorns" to the other world. As a family representative follows, carrying symbolic funeral clothes on a small table, she leads in a graceful dance to the stately music of drum, cymbals, and pipe. She makes three rounds as a butterfly, three displaying long flowing sleeves in a gesture of leading, three whisking away hindering spirits with a fan, and three using a knife to cut away obstacles to peace for the deceased. The action has the aesthetic power to settle family consciousness in peace as well. Here, too, it is not just a magical theatrical gesture aimed at inducing an effect in an other world. The Princess Spirit is physically present before the family's eyes, ushering the deceased to destiny.

The action springs not from the mild trance that the shaman may enter, but from intentional consciousness—that of the shaman, presumably that of the Princess Spirit, most basically that of the family in its renewed engagement with life in face of the crisis of death. Constituting what Artaud calls a "metaphysics of gesture," the action gives physical expression to "attitudes in the realm of thought and intelligence that words are incapable of grasping and

that gestures and everything partaking of a spatial language attain with more precision than they" (1958: 56, 71). As in a Jeju rite, the action arouses and expresses an intention actively to send the loved one to destined peace. Raising the possibility that the thorns of death are but a phase in life's movement toward final flowering, it invites the family to do so with peace in their own hearts. The peace is felt all the more intensely because it follows upon the turbulent psycho-dramatic interaction with the deceased and the chaotic game with the Messenger Spirit. At the same time, the event stirs and expresses deep wells of awe that are worlds apart from the blank, thoughtless wonder of balancing feats in other rites. It is awe in the face not just of the supernatural, but of human life-destiny.

As a whole, the rite for the dead gives the bereaved family a venue to celebrate the mystery of a loved one's destiny in death while reasserting belief in life. Nietzsche has said of the Greeks that their deep-seated sensitivity to the dark aspects of life put them "in danger of craving a Buddhistic denial of the will" (1956: 51). Far from avoiding life's darkness and anxieties, however, Greek tragedies display the worst life has to give while drawing the audience into a sense of "the metaphysical solace . . . that, despite every phenomenal change, life is at bottom indestructibly joyful and powerful" (1956: 50). A Korean death rite does the same. (see also Kister 1997: 50-58, 81-92, 98-113; 2010: 40-51). Throughout, the interactive flow of consciousness among gods, spirits, and family is more intense and dramatically vivid than in the Jeju rites we have seen. It thus has a potential to bring its multifaceted world of belief to life in more intense pulses of thought and feeling. The more physically intense the drama becomes, moreover, the more its world is likely to remain in the consciousness of individual family members after it ceases to exist as a communal physical event.

As I have stressed in this chapter, the alterations in consciousness that shamanic ritual gives rise to are not limited to whatever extraordinary mental motions the shaman may experience. Their nature and dynamics are better understood in terms of ordinary human dimensions of conscious activity—believing, intentional, anxious, inter-relational, creative, playful—whether for the shaman, the gods and spirits, or believing participants. Whatever their intrinsic nature, the shifts in consciousness are integrally bond up with physical activity as a community's world of belief comes to life in a holistic physical, mental, interactional event. In its full-blown mental-physical form, that world ceases to exist once the physical action stops. To the degree to which it comes vibrantly alive for the brief span of the action, however, it has the potential to remain as a living force in the memories of individual participants in daily life long after they leave the ritual site.

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CONTINUITY OF SHAMANISM AMONG THE LADAKHI AND THE SAKHA

Takako Yamada

Introduction

Shamanism had long been considered a typical religious practice in Siberia since magico-religious practices were depicted in the ethnographies of Siberian peoples in the nineteenth century as *shamanstvo* or shamanism, which was derived from a Tungus word *saman* for magico-religious functionaries (Sieroszewski [1896] 1997; Harva [1938] 1989; Shirokogoroff 1935; Czaplicka [1914] 1969; Jochelson 1933). However, today, shamanism is rather considered as a religion or a religious configuration practiced extensively in traditional societies throughout the world, not only in Siberia (Hultkrantz 1963, 1989; Bäckman and Hultkrantz eds 1985; Lewis [1971] 1989; Hitchcock and Jones 1976; Yamada 1993).

Shamanism, which premises particular cosmology and etiology that make shaman's performances relevant in the socio-cultural context, cannot be escape from radical transformation in the process of ideological and technological modernization or globalization. If shamanism can be characterized as religious practices in which a variety of "body resources" are manipulated and integrated to embody the world view of a given culture, then radical changes in the world-view through globalization can also influence shamanistic practices. Or shamanistic tradition may transcend the borders between cultures due to the uniformity of worldview through globalization.

As has been pointed out, shamanism is currently being revived among various northern ethnic groups throughout Siberia despite the anti-religious policies of the Soviet era (Yamada 1997, 1998, 1999; Hamayon 1990; Pentikäinen 1997), while most traditional societies are attempting to keep a shamanistic tradition in the face of modernization. For example, during the

political and historical development, South Korean shamanism has been practiced by being given different meanings such as “superstition” or “idealization of the good old days” (Kendall 2001). In Malaysia, shamans that have established a modern medical treatment system by modifying the traditional etiology are accepted by urban citizens (Laderman 2001). Again, the shaman of the Temiars, who are forest dwellers of Malaysia, ensures the survival of traditional society against the drastic changes in the process of globalization and modernization by incorporating the spirits of foreign things and people (the “Outforest Other”—as Roseman calls them) within their own indigenous system of power and knowledge (Roseman 2001: 110).

Moreover, the Ladakhi in Western Tibet, India, whom I have been studying, have undergone rapid modernization in their daily lives under the development of tourism, while their shamanism has survived in the process. Shamans’ performances today have not so much changed in terms of their “body techniques” compared with those in the 1980s, however, their performances have begun to attract more and more “global” peoples. Ladakhi shamanism has gradually transcended the borders between cultures. Shaman’s glossolalia, for example, has begun to be understood in a more generalized and de-cultural context.

These studies show not only that today shamanism has been revitalized among post-soviet societies, but also that it still has a significant role in changing traditional societies. Then, what kinds of performance have been used in shamanistic practices? It has been noticed that a series of body techniques had once brought the disparities in the definition of a shaman (Yamada 1999: 139-140). However, we may notice today that shamanism has adapted to modify its practice in the process of modernization of traditional societies, while it is still required by modern societies. If so, a question also arises as to what differences surely exist today in the body techniques that have once differentiated the states between “soul loss” and “spirit-possession”.

In this paper, I will shed light on the practice of shamanism and modernization with special references to shamanism among the Ladakhi and the Sakha, comparing them in terms of traditional versus modern as well as cultural differences. The former is known to practice shamanism of the spirit-possession type amid modernization through regional development, while the latter, who once practiced Siberian-type shamanism, are now experiencing the revitalization of shamanism. Through this comparison, this study is to reappraise the continuity of shamanism in the process of modernization or globalization.

Ladakhi Shamanism in 1980s and 2003

Several field trips were carried out between 1983 and 1990, as well as in 2003. During the 1980s I observed that although peoples' lives had been drastically influenced, especially in the vicinity of Leh town, by local development, e.g. by electrification and the spread of TV among families, there were a few changes in villagers' lives. Shamanism was kept alive as a religious practice, together with devotion to Tibetan Buddhism and unwavering faith in possession by divine spirits (Yamada 1993, 1999: 1-33).

Ladakhi shamans, who are called *lha ba* in the case of men and *lha mo* in the case of women, must all experience a possession-illness for a long period before they are acknowledged as a novice by senior *lha mo* or *lha ba*. After having fully experienced possession by *lha* (a local god) and undergone a long apprenticeship, they become shamans. Shamans are those who have become able to control their spirit-possession illness. They perform séances in a state of trance, being possessed by a god (*lha*) to divine the causes of harm and misfortunes, to heal or to drive away an evil spiritual being from a patient.

In the 1980s, it was considered that a séance should be performed by a shaman in the kitchen where the oven god (*thab lha*) always resides. Before starting a séance, a small altar for the *lha* would be arranged on a low table beside the big oven by the shaman, and juniper leaves were always burnt in a pot to purify the place where the séance was to be executed. A séance consisted



Photo 1: Ladakhi shaman pacifying a girl possessed by an angry local god (*lha*) (1990)

of (1) the invitation of *lha*, (2) the transformation of the shaman into *lha*, (3) the application of healing techniques by demonstrating *lha*'s power, and (4) the sending-off of *lha*, which I describe in another paper (Yamada 1999: 13-18).

It is noticed that the Ladakhi have undergone rapid modernization in their daily lives under the promotion of local development and tourism especially since the 1990s (Jina 1994). However, when I visited Ladakh in 2003, I noticed that modernization had not at all weakened the practice of shamanism, and that shamans in training had continued to be recruited generation after generation. Patients suffering from possession-illness did wish to follow the path to become shamans and visit elderly shamans for training purposes. In reality, although it was said that becoming a shaman was not welcomed in village life in the 1980s, shamanism functioned as a living practice along with devotion to Tibetan Buddhism and an undeniable faith in possession by deities and spiritual beings (Yamada 1993; 1999: 1-33). However, at the end of the 1980s, an increase occurred in the number of family members of clients suffering spirit possession illness who hoped that the clients would become shamans because of the economic benefits they received. They began to recognize shamanism as a viable form of business. We can notice some change of Ladakhi shamanism already in this period.

In this process of modernization, Ladakhi shamanism has not experienced any interruption, but rather it has come to be considered a unique aspect of the Ladakhi culture. The presence of shamans in Ladakh was even included as a tourist attraction in the sightseeing guidebook (*Tourist Directory of Ladakh*) published in 2003 by the State Government's Tourist Office. There it is written that "the effectiveness of their [i.e. shamans'] spiritual healing is an article of faith with the Ladakhi" (Tourist Office, Leh 2003: 23-24). Not only the faith in the power of shamans was still deep-rooted among the Ladakhi, but also the practice of shamanism had become a tourist attraction, symbolizing Ladakh as being the "home of the shaman".

Thus, the practice of shamanism itself has not significantly changed. Putting on the same costume, each shaman performs essentially the same healing ritual (*séance*) in front of the altar. Holding the bell in the right hand and the small drum in the left, the shaman recites the story of gods and the sutra of offering to the gods, and then applies healing techniques for the removal of defilement (e.g., sucking out), divination by grains, and the fire incantation. However, changes have been noticed: shamans used to invite *lha* (gods) only on religiously auspicious days of Tibetan calendar months, but currently there are some shamans, especially in Leh City, who perform healing rituals almost every day at the request of clients.



Photo 2: Ladakhi shaman sucking defilement out from the body of a boy (1990).



Photo 3: Ladakhi shaman responding to the request of Moslem mother and daughter (2003).

Moreover, it was once in the kitchens—where the god of oven (*thab lha*) resided watching over the family—that shamans performed rituals. However, in 2003 some shamans carry out the rituals in living rooms, and being in the kitchen is necessary for them only at the moment of the *lha*'s possession. The very moment of the shaman's transformation into a god is not seen by patients, but can only be guessed by the hiccup and the shrill of "a! tsi tsi!". Again, former shamans' rituals required the presence of an assistant because of the shaman's glossolalia, so it was someone in the shaman's family that used to play the role of the assistant. In 2003, an assistant can be a patient who suffers from spirit-possession but is unable to become full-fledged shaman. It is even common in 2003 that a shaman puts together his/her paraphernalia such as costumes, bell, hand-drum, and *vajra* in a bag, and visits whoever have made requests for shamanic services, whether in Ladakh or in neighboring Hindustan villages.

Shaman's Responses Today to the Clients: Deculturalization of Etiology

During the 1980s clients who visited shamans were mostly Buddhist Ladakhi including a few Baltis and Hindustani people. In contrast, in the case of 2003, it is said that quite a few Ladakhi Muslims who are in conflict with Ladakhi Buddhists visit shamans. Moreover, Hindustani people and European tourists can be their clients. A Muslim woman might ask him to diagnose her child's boils, for example, or ask for help if her family members destroy a stupa (*chod rten*) near the house. A stupa is no longer sacred for the Muslim, but she may still believe in the harm by the god of the earth that is considered by Buddhist Ladakhis to be easily offended by digging up the soil. Shamans are thus needed to address difficulties caused by potential conflicts that are harbored by Buddhists and Muslims, which remain hidden behind the slogan of peaceful coexistence.

As is shown in another paper (Yamada 2007), the development of shamanism into a tourist attraction indicates that practices unique to Ladakh are becoming transcultural practices spreading across widely different cultures. Hindustani and Western peoples visit shamans. As for cases of Hindustani clients, they were usually told that the cause was black magic (*jadu* in Urdu and/or in Hindi) in place of a supernatural or spiritual factor. We can see the shaman's approach of explaining supernatural causes in terms of Hindustani's ideology. On the other hand, there is an example that a shaman demanded a Hindustani client to believe in the *lha*, telling the client, "If you pray to *dPal ldan lha mo*, I will respond to you." In another case, *lha mo* TD told to a

Hindustani client who complained of pain in the stomach, "Do not eat too much pepper and garlic," and one of the persons present interpreted the shaman's words into Hindi. The shaman concluded, "Offer a prayer (*gsol kha*) to the guardian deities (*srung ma*). Never forget to pray every year," and continued, "Do not eat harmful food. Consult a doctor and an *am chi*." Here, we can observe the shaman's approach of providing answers in accordance with a general idea about Hindustani customs.

It has become common that in the modernized context, Ladakhi shamans perform curing rituals by applying separate etiological explanations to their clients: culturally bound explanations for the Ladakhi and de-cultural ones for non-Ladakhi that can be understood across different cultures. That is, the generalization or de-culturalization of etiological explanations has become prevalent. Moreover, it is revealed that Ladakhi shamanism, through basing more on the Tibetan Buddhist worldview, begins to possess the nature of pan-Tibetan practices which can be accepted broadly even by different Tibetan societies (Yamada 2007). Thus, Ladakhi shamanism had not experienced any interruption but has continued by changing bit by bit their tradition, in which shamans have begun to play a new role of healers beyond borders, being backed by both a universal "faith in the supernatural existence" and a pan-Tibetan belief.

Tradition of Shamanism Among the Sakha

The Sakha used to be known for their practicing of typical Siberian shamanism. According to Sieroszewski ([1896] 1997: 989-90), in the nineteenth century, before the Soviet time, shamans were called for different reasons: (1) to foretell the future, (2) to find a missing thing, or (3) to beg for good fortune. They were also called (4) to be present at weddings, *ysyakh* (mid-summer festival), and other Sakha festivities, but their main purpose was (5) to come to the sick, especially to people suffering from Sakha culture-bound illnesses, and try to make them well.

Sieroszewski ([1896] 1997) also describes that all sicknesses were considered to be caused by evil spirits who settled in a person, and therefore, the method of treatment included mostly frightening or coaxing out the unwelcome guests. It was also reported that the simplest method was curing with fire: they took a hot piece of coal or a piece of burning tinder, blew on it holding it close to the affected spot, and then waited for the whole to burn out. It was common and widely spread to apply this method for treating certain conditions such as swelling, broken bones, rheumatic pains, and malignant wounds.

Besides this simplest method of curing, shamans performed an elaborate and spectacular healing ritual for grave illnesses. Since the Sakha considered that an illness was caused by evil spirits' hurting the human soul, it was the shaman's role to search for the lost soul of a patient or the evil spirits that hurt the soul. Therefore, the ritual was the very occasion in which they traveled with the assistance of helping spirits to the upper world and the underworld, fought with evil spirits that caused the given illness, and finally bargained with them over the price (i.e. sacrificing cattle).

Furthermore, Sieroszewski describes not only the scenes of beating the drum and dancing as if the shaman's soul travels far and leads the un-submissive spirit but also a variety of body techniques that show especially the transformation or transcendence of a shaman during his ritual. For example, the shaman hiccups nervously and artificially; his trembling becomes more palpitating; a solitary and harsh yawn is issued; a falcon's loud, distinct, and penetrating cry, or a gull's pitiable wail is uttered; meaningless words and impromptu dialogues with spirits are uttered; the shaman drives out the cause of the sickness by frightening it away, blowing it away from his palm far into the air, or sucking it out of the sore spot with his mouth (Sieroszewski [1896] 1997: 994-1000).

However, as is widely known, from the 1920s to the 1930s the Soviet government compelled shamans to abandon the practice of shamanism (Balzer 1996: 7-8), and hundreds of shamans' drums were burnt (Oyunskaya 1993: 6-7). Since then, shamanism was prohibited by anti-religious policies and its practice was only performed stealthily throughout the Soviet time.

Sakha Shamanism in 1990s

The break-up of the USSR and the declaration of sovereignty of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) made the practice of Sakha shamanism authorized as traditional medicine (Yamada 1996, 1998). Actually, shamanistic tradition was secretly and individually retained as a healing technique among the Sakha even during the Soviet era. Because of this secrecy, healing techniques varied greatly among shamans and traditional healers, who openly resumed their activities in the early 1990s. The examples described below suggest not only the variety of performance in the revitalization of shamanism, but also how shamanistic traditions can be adjusted to the modern circumstances in this process.



Photo 4: Sakha shaman applying a healing technique of hypnotism to his client (1994).

Case 1: Mr. G. T., aged 66 in 1994

Mr. G.T. was born into a family of shamans and had a rather general Sakha traditional worldview on the universe, spiritual beings, and deities (Yamada 1997). Although he positioned himself not as a shaman (*oyuun*) but as an herbalist (*otohut*), he claimed that he could not only practice shamanistic techniques but also cure illnesses that shamans could not. He explained he could practice five different healing techniques: *tyyn-naahyn* (fire curing, almost identical with cauterization), *khan-naahyn* (cupping), *ilbiyii* (contact massage, almost similar to acupressure), *jalbiyii* (non-contact massage), and *khomuhun* (the same as hypnotism). Regardless of which of the techniques he applied, he always offered prayers (*algys*) to his guardian spirits.

He also said that although he did cure laymen secretly as a traditional herbalist during the Soviet time, he maintained good relations with doctors of Western medicine. Being convinced of the collaboration with Western medicine in healing, he had his daughter to study Western medicine in college.

The following example where he cured a patient with pains in his back shows how he generally performed a healing ritual:

1. Offering prayers (*algys*) to the guardian spirits.
2. Letting the patient fall prone on the bed to examine the condition of his back.

3. Applying the technique of "contact massage" to fix the condition of his backbone by pressing the spine hard with both hands.
4. Then, applying the technique of "non-contact massage" to the back, the shaman's right hand moves from right to left along the backbone slightly away from the body without touching it.
5. Again examining the condition of his backbone by touching.
6. Having the patient lie face upward and touch his right hand lightly. Then, making the hand move upward and shaking his palm several times as if throwing the cause of the illness away from his palm far into the air.
7. Offering prayers (*algys*) to the guardian spirits again.
8. Letting the patient stand up in order to examine the hipbone.
9. Letting the patient to sit on the chair with his legs apart, putting his palms upward on his knees.
10. Then, applying the technique of "hypnotism": let the shaman's hands spread apart, moving lightly from side to side or up and down; gradually the motion of the patient synchronizes with this movement.
11. Calling "one, two, three" dissolve the hypnosis.
12. Finally, letting his hands move around the patient's head to adjust the condition.

On another occasion, he also applied the "fire curing" together with "non-contact massage" and "hypnotism". Among his healing techniques, the methods of "contact massage", "fire curing", and "hypnotism" are no longer specific to Sakha tradition, but are identical with those that are found commonly among other peoples. However, the technique of "non-contact massage" bears resemblance to the removal of a malevolent spiritual essence that was described by Sieroszewski. This technique would aptly display his transcendent power, his shamanic power of healing. As is also shown by the following examples, here, it is noticed how the continuity of Sakha shamanism has been sustained by an individual shaman.

Case 2: Ms. B.V., aged 54 in 1994

After having graduated from the Pedagogical Institute in Saint-Petersburg, Ms. B. V. had taught Russian at an elementary school for twenty-six years. She began to practice Sakha traditional medicine in 1990. She was convinced of belonging to the lineage of shamans, saying that she had three female shaman ancestors on her father's side, one of whom was very famous, and a male shaman on her mother's side.

She was convinced that she had obtained special bio-energy from the "upper world", after suffering from illnesses for a long period, and once noticing that her hands were so warm as if fire was moving inside them. She had an idea that an illness was caused by the decrease of bio-energy, or the lack of energy in a certain organ, which can be considered a rather modernized view of illness. Therefore, she considered food to be essential for being in good health and believed that the best way to maintain one's bio-energy in good condition was by consuming greasy food.

Although there was no occasion to observe her performance, she explained that the following techniques could be performed:

1. To heal a patient only by a talking through a telephone. She explained this as remote control of an illness; she believed that she could send her bio-energy to a patient far away through the telephone system.
2. To apply herbal medicine.
3. To apply the pulse examination system of Tibetan medicine for diagnosis.
4. To give incantations to stop bleeding.
5. To heal by adding her bio-energy to the weak point of a patient.
6. To apply "contact massage", "non-contact massage", and *bokhsuu* (sucking out the essence of an illness).

It is difficult to guess what body techniques she actually practiced. It is noticed, however, that although she had some modern ideas about the etiology of illnesses on one hand, she did try to demonstrate her supernatural power like a traditional shaman by showing the abilities of practicing "remote control", "non-contact massage", and "sucking out."

Case 3: Ms. D. I., aged 39 in 1994

Ms. D. I. had a stronger consciousness of being a shaman. She too was born into a family with a shamanic lineage: her paternal grandmother of her father's side was a famous shamaness (*udaghan*), and her maternal grandfather was a shaman. One year after her father's mother died (when Ms. D. I. was thirteen years old), she suffered from a serious illness, which a shaman acknowledged as a sign to become a shaman. Here, it is shown that even around 1968 there was a shaman who could diagnose a shamanic illness.

Since then she has noticed that she has special power. Later, at the age of thirty, she experienced again suffering an extremely curious illness for five days, when she felt like she was floating in the air, and was healed by some spiritual power in the "upper world" with a special tool. She said since then she

had healed villagers' illnesses. Her life story shows that as was the tradition of Sakha shamanism, she entered into a stage of shamanhood after the recovery of an initiatory sickness. The independence of the Republic of Sakha gave her the opportunity to fully practice shamanistic healing at a village clinic.

During the 1990s she had obtained an extremely special position among the shamans in Sakha society. She only started her activities as a traditional healer in 1994; however, later she developed traditional Sakha worldview into the philosophy of "symbiosis with nature" on her own and began to receive government VIPs, including the president, as her clients. Her activities expanded to cross the village boundaries and cover the entire Republic of Sakha, being addressed as the "Sister of Sakha Comrades". Moreover, she came to clearly believe that her mission was not simply to cure diseases, but to heal the ground, i.e. the natural environment of the Republic. In particular, she began to have strong volition to disseminate the philosophy of "symbiosis with nature" as the core of Sakha identity and ethnicity (Yamada 2004).

The major healing technique I observed in 1994 was "to suck out" dirt or defilement from the body, but the performances to express the acquisition of power of helping spirits were also displayed (indicated in italics below). She healed a boy who suffered from abdominal pains by using the following body techniques one after the other:

1. Offering prayers and food to the Spirit of Fire.
2. Having the boy lie on the bed, face upward and naked (only with underpants on him).
3. Checking his body by touching it lightly, while talking with his family about his condition.
4. Touching lightly the pit of the stomach with her right hand; *croaking to imitate a bird*, letting her right hand turn two or three times clockwise, and thrusting the hand upward, *spitting out "dirt"* (in reality, white sputum) from her mouth.
5. *Sucking out "dirt"* from the boy's body through a pipe, which is made of a crane's bone, and spitting it out onto a plate.
6. In the meantime, *the croaking sound of a bird* (supposed to be a crane) is uttered.
7. Letting the boy fall prone on the bed.
8. Using a moose horn, *sucking out "dirt"* from the boy's body, occasionally inserting the croak of a bird, then spitting it out onto the plate.
9. *Sucking out "dirt"* from the tread with a moose horn.

10. Having the boy sit on the edge of the bed, and *sucking out* "dirt" from his chest and temple with the above-mentioned pipe.
11. Using the horn of a moose, *sucking out* "dirt" again from the body.
12. Imitating *the croak of a bird*, collecting dirt without using any tools and spitting it out onto the plate.
13. Finally, showing his family all the "dirt" collected in the plate.

That Ms. D.I. was clearly convinced of having received revelations from the spirits is almost similar to the way how Sakha shamans traditionally obtained their shamanic power. On the other hand, she claimed that illnesses arise in the body due to the accumulation of some "dirt" or "defilement" and not because of the harm done by evil spirits. Thus, she created the new category of "dirt" to explain the cause of an illness. Thus, the main procedure of her healing ritual was, as the highlighted phrases above show, to remove the "dirt" from the patient's body, which was done by sucking it out through a pipe or a horn.

More importantly, however, she believed that it was indispensable to use special tools, such as horns of moose or ox, pipes made of the bones of a crane or swan, and tweezers made of loon's bill to suck out "dirt" from the patient's body. She implicitly demonstrated to be spiritual all these animals that were used as materials for healing tools, which means that she regarded them as her helping spirits, although she never explained them as such. Moreover, as is shown by the insertion of bird's croak (also shown in italics), she even identified herself with cranes while she was applying the healing technique of "sucking out". She explained that she sucked out the "dirt" to thicken it—just like a crane eats food. Not only by adopting the technique of "sucking", but also by basing on the concept of helping spirits and performing "wild cries", she seemed to follow to some extent the traditional ways of shamanic practices that were described by Sieroszewski ([1896] 1997).

These three examples show that, although healing techniques vary among shamans and spectacular dramas are no longer performed, contemporary Sakha shamans seem to struggle in following their shamanistic traditions. Furthermore, the similarity is recognized in that they have the consciousness of having acquired some transcendent power while the differences can be observed in the etiology and healing techniques.

Conclusion: Continuity of Shamanism

As is explored in the book "Continuity, Symbiosis, and the Mind in Traditional Cultures of Modern Societies" (Yamada & Irimoto 2011), the examples

described above also show that the practice of shamanism has continued amid the modernization of traditional societies. Although both the process of modernization and shamanistic traditions differ from each other, in concluding, the continuity of shamanism in modern societies can be discussed in terms of body techniques and shamans' adjustment to modernized circumstances.

Selectivity and Hybridity in the Continuity of Shamanism

The examination of body techniques adopted in the shamanistic practices among the Ladakhi and the Sakha gives us more insights about what sort of body techniques may survive in the continuity of shamanism. Originally, shamanistic tradition of the Ladakhi has been sharply contrasted with that of the Sakha: the former being a spirit-possession type, while the latter is a soul-journey type. The examples of performances of Sakha shamans in the nineteenth century and Ladakhi shamans in the 1980s are usually considered to show this contrast. However, it is noticed that the differences lie mostly in the demonstration of the ways how a shaman negotiates with sprits and deities. As for the techniques of the body used in order to enter into or to be in spiritualistic states, there are hardly any differences.

For example, both types of shamans can reach the state of trance or ecstasy by drumming or by producing a harsh noise of a bell or other rattle noises. Hiccupping is a common sign of the moment of their transformation, although Ladakhi shamans also display sneezing, while Sakha shamans yawn and shiver. Moreover, Sakha shamans perform wild animal cries to announce the presence of helping spirits, while Ladakhi shamans shrill "a! tsi tsi!" to indicate the state of being possessed by the god. Glossolalia and dialogues with spirits are also common signs of their transcendent states, while both shamans show their healing power by the techniques of "sucking out", or frightening. Here, it is noticed that the very techniques of the body to enter into or demonstrate spirituality and to apply it to the patients were rather universal.

Moreover, this paper shows that Sakha shamans described here no longer display elaborate performances characteristic of Sakha shamanistic practices, but rather retain somewhat universal techniques of the body to demonstrate their spirituality. In reality, although one shaman does give a piercing cries like those of a crane, which seems specific to the practices of Sakha shamans, she also "sucks out" dirt from the patient's body as a healing technique, which is similar to what Ladakhi shamans do. Furthermore, another shaman practiced the techniques of cauterization, acupressure, and hypnotism, which are not specific to Sakha but rather general, as well as some spiritualistic body techniques such as shaking his palm as if throwing the cause of an illness away.

Here, we can notice the hybridity of local (specific to a given culture) and global (or universal) techniques. Thus, It is suggested that selectivity and hybridity are relevant principles for the continuity of shamanism in terms of body techniques.

The Shaman's Adjustment to Modernization

As described above, Ladakhi shamans have continued to practice shamanistic healings with techniques of the body that are fundamentally unchanged. However, Ladakhi shamanism has rather been internationalized so that shamans are also relied on by Muslims, Hindus, and foreign tourists. This change has made Ladakhi traditional theory of etiology, on which shamans' answers to the patients during the séance were based, less culture-bound or de-contextualized, or reshaped by a more general framework. Examples shown in this paper indicate that shamans have coped with new, modern circumstances by incorporating a new framework of conflicts into etiology, not by changing shamanic performances fundamentally. In this sense, Ladakhi shamans adapt to the modernization by modifying their traditions in terms of etiology.

On the other hand, Sakha shamans today no longer practice the elaborate performances that formerly attracted scholars. More importantly, any relationship with the "underworld" is rather avoided or tabooed. Accordingly, shamans today do not necessarily follow a traditional folk etiology, although they have maintained a somewhat traditional view of the universe (Yamada 1997). Moreover, an illness is more commonly understood as being caused not by evil spirits, but rather by the lack of bio-energy, by some decrease in the power of the soul, or by the accumulation of dirt/defilement in the body.

Here, it is noticed that the causes of illnesses are explained not by culture-bound concepts but by more general and universal ideas. Additionally, the replacement of traditional techniques with more universal ones seems to be developing gradually as is shown by the practices of "contact massage" (acupressure) and "fire curing" (cauterization). Furthermore, a Sakha shaman of case 3 reinterprets the relation of man to spiritual beings as a philosophy of "symbiosis with nature", and starts to disseminate this philosophy as the core of the Sakha identity, which is described in another paper (Yamada 2004). Namely, Sakha shamanism today has begun to play a new role of reconstructing Sakha identity and ethnicity. Thus, Sakha shamans also accommodate their tradition to modernization.

Continuity of Shamanism in Changing Traditional Societies

The case studies of the Ladakhi and the Sakha that I deal with here show how shamanism has continued amid the modernization or dynamism of traditional societies. The examples of the Sakha aptly show the continuity of shamanism and the perseverance of shamans under severe political circumstances. In addition, it cannot be discounted that the continuity of shamanism is sustained by the shaman's ability to accommodate it to new circumstances. Actually, it was a Sakha shamaness that had the power to dress shamanistic tradition in a more modernized idea like the philosophy of symbiosis with nature. Regarding Sakha shamanism as the core of reconstructing ethnicity and identity of the Sakha, she played a leading role in reinforcing the solidarity of the society.

Moreover, this paper suggests that the continuation does not always signify to keep the same tradition of performance, but rather the modification by or adjustment to changing situations. Since modernization today is almost identical to the globalization of local cultures, shamanistic practices of every culture, too, cannot escape from the influences of cultural and religious globalization or universalization. The continuation of shamanistic performances can be assured by shaman's ability as an agency who can manipulate "body techniques" adorned with a hybrid of local (e.g. the croak of a bird) and universal (e.g. sucking out the dirt) characteristics, as exemplified by a Sakha shaman, or by accommodating its performance to a more common tradition—Tibetan, for example.

Lastly, it is of significance that the revitalization of shamanism among the Sakha not only shows the continuation and renewal of their tradition, but also serves as a means to reconstruct their identity. Shamanism in today's traditional societies contributes to the transmission and restructuring of a given culture, and thus becomes the core of ethnic identity. In this process, shamans can play a new role as bearer of tradition as well as healer beyond borders with a core universal belief of "faith in the supernatural existence". Here, it is not the revival that is observed but the continuity of shamanism basing on self-sustaining natives' perspectives.

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EXPERIENCING *SATI*: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MINDFULNESS IN PĀLI BUDDHIST PSYCHOLOGY

Gerald Virtbauer

Introduction: Pāli Buddhism and phenomenological psychology

The analysis of the psychological ideas of the system of Buddhism from the viewpoint of phenomenological psychology implies a certain way of receiving, translating, and incorporating ancient Indian teachings into current Western thought and culture (Virtbauer, 2012, 2013). Western translators of Buddhist literature have been explicitly and implicitly influenced by phenomenological psychological thought and terminology. Phenomenological psychology is a fruitful framework and provides the Western vocabulary for analysing Buddhist ideas on consciousness, experience, and behaviour in the context of Pāli Buddhist literature (Bodhi, 2007).

The focus of this article is on phenomenological experiential qualities of mindfulness (Pāli *sati*) from the perspective of Pāli Buddhist psychology. The question of what it means to be mindful or to practice mindfulness is interpreted from a contemporary Buddhist perspective. This approach also helps to clarify the Pāli Buddhist concept of mindfulness. It indirectly examines the reception and transformation of the Pāli Buddhist concept of mindfulness in current psychological discourses (for discussions of what *sati* means in Pāli Buddhism and how it relates to contemporary Western psychology and therapy see, e.g., Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Kuan, 2012). However, the phenomenological interpretation of the practice and experience of *sati* in this article focuses on the psychological mechanisms that are involved in this form of meditation. It clarifies the phenomenological characteristics of human experience from a

Buddhist perspective and investigates the possibilities of relating to one's experience in a way that is conducive to well-being.

The focus on first-person perspectives of experience is of great heuristic value for the current psychological discourses on mindfulness. It points out the necessity of further qualitative research in this field, which has mainly been concerned with the quantitative evidence of the physiological and psychological correlates of the phenomenon of mindfulness. All dialogical developments in the discourses between Indian and Western psychology ultimately refer to introspective investigations of human nature (Rao, 2008; Pickering, 2006; Virtbauer, 2012). The practices of indigenous Indian psychology (IP) that are now received and applied in Western behavioural science are based on systematically introspective ways of exploring human consciousness, experience, and behaviour (regarding Buddhist psychology cf. Wallace, 2007).

In Buddhist psychology, the direct (first-person) experience of mindfulness is the key to a shift from an ego-centred way of experiencing to an understanding of the interdependent processes that constitute individual experience and behaviour. This shift reshapes the framework in which individual experience takes place. From the Buddhist perspective, this is the way to the end of suffering in life.

Phenomenological psychology

Phenomenology can be defined as 'the study of the relationship between consciousness and its objects' (A. Giorgi, 2006, p. 45). As such, it is 'a method for knowing or investigating the way we know reality' (Cox, 2010, p. 25). The phenomenological method has developed in many directions and it is particularly fruitful in the research of religious experience (Sharma, 2001; Cox, 2010).

Husserl (1913/1983) developed philosophical phenomenology as a descriptive and eidetic (Greek *eidos*, 'form, appearance') discipline. His basic assumption is that humans can recognise the pure form of an experiential phenomenon. The way to arrive at the *eidos* – the true essence of a phenomenon – is characterised by the ability to be with a thing exactly as it manifests in experience, without any presuppositions. This means that an experiential phenomenon is put out of its natural environment and analysed without the direct connection to the conditions in which it evolved. Husserl refers to this procedure as the *epochē* ('bracketing').

Phenomenological psychology is a specific approach to human experience and behaviour that is based on the introspective observation of experiential phenomena. Its results and consequent theories are entirely related to first-

person experience. Phenomenological psychology focuses on the possibilities of realising the objects (phenomena) in one's consciousness and on the analysis and description of the objects themselves.

The transcendental idea of 'bracketing' in Husserl's work is philosophical. It is used in a modified way in the empirical methodology and applications of phenomenological psychology. Phenomenological psychology focuses on the appearances of phenomena within the lifeworlds of individuals. The cultural and societal settings are taken into account. However, the practical goal of phenomenological psychology's methodology is to reduce the cultural, societal, and individual preconceptions that mould one's conditioned experience to such an extent, that the relation between these preconceptions and the nature of the phenomenon itself becomes clear (Ashworth, 1996).

The reduction in phenomenological psychology thus manifests in a contextual psychological sense (B. Giorgi, 2006; Husserl, 1925/1977). Whereas the philosophical *epochē* implies the possibility of mentally transcending all the concepts that transform the true appearance of a certain phenomenon, the psychological *epochē* takes place within a relational context. One's conditioned preconceptions can be 'bracketed' – that is, understood and relativised – if one's way of relating to a phenomenon within a certain context becomes clear. Thus, the phenomenon itself is recognised in its true form.

In philosophical phenomenology the mind is considered capable of excluding preconceptions in the act of pure mental experience. In phenomenological psychology preconceptions are overcome by understanding why and how one relates to phenomena in individually conditioned ways.

The Buddha's phenomenological psychological teachings

The teachings of the Buddha on human consciousness, experience, and behaviour, as preserved in the Pāli canon, appear to be the first fully developed phenomenological psychology in recorded and documented history. In this psychological article, Pāli canonical literature is treated in the traditional way of Theravāda Buddhism as the body of scriptures of the Buddha's teachings (for a critical philological account on Pāli canonical literature see, e.g., von Hinüber, 1996/2000). There are three main characteristics of the Buddha's psychological teachings. They are (1) psychological in the sense of current Western psychology, as the Buddha was mainly concerned with individual experience and behaviour. The goal of his teachings is (2) therapeutic. He presents both a theory of how suffering (Pāli *dukkha*) arises in human experience and a practical way that should lead to the liberation from all suffering. The

Buddha's teachings are (3) phenomenological. Ultimately, he is interested in the inherent nature of the phenomena that constitute human experience.

Buddhist and Western phenomenological psychology meet in the aim of finding the true characteristics (in Husserlian terms the *eide*) of the phenomena of human experience, though the historical, cultural, and philosophical backgrounds, the practical methods, and the resulting theories are distinct. The system of Buddhism has a unique practical approach to revealing the characteristics of experiential phenomena (*dhammas*), which is based on the yogic practice of mindfulness meditation. Phenomenological psychological terminology is conducive to describing this Buddhist approach. It makes the Buddha's psychological teachings accessible to contemporary Western psychology and therapy.

Phenomenological characteristics of experience and *sati*

Right mindfulness (*sammāsati*) is the key Buddhist method for meditation practice. *Sammāsati* is included in the central teaching of the Buddha – the four noble truths (*ariyasacca*) – as the seventh step of the noble eightfold path (*ariya atthangika magga*; see *SN*, Mahāvagga 12.1081 (*Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*); Bodhi 1984/2006). Soma (1981/2003, pp. xv–xxvii) gives a great summary of the essential features and nuances of mindfulness from a Theravāda perspective. One main attribute of mindfulness in regard to a phenomenological psychological analysis is that '... [it] lets the objects [of experience] speak for themselves and unfold their nature. ... it predisposes and opens the mind to the impressions of truth, induces mental pliancy and the mood of spiritual receptivity, the basis of highest intuition' (p. xvi). How the Buddhist practice of *sati* is supposed to do this will become clear below (under 3.). For now the question is how mindfulness itself can be understood as a phenomenon in one's experience.

In addressing this question it is important to introduce a distinction between two levels of statement that can be found in Buddhist literature. The Buddha taught people in their specific life situations and in a language they could comprehend. There are two truths discernible in the Buddha's teachings across different Buddhist schools — a relative truth (*sammutisacca*) expressed in everyday language and an ultimate truth (*paramatthasacca*) that describes processes at a phenomenological level in philosophical language (Warder, 1980). Both kinds of teachings are considered to be truths. The difference in the methods must be understood in a contextual sense concerning specific situations and audiences with certain needs.

The relative or conventional truth refers to the use of concepts or naming (*paññatti*) of things that do not exist in an ultimate sense: for example, to speak of 'a mountain', 'a house', or 'a person' is a conventional way of relating to and making sense of the world of our experience (*Abhidh-s*, 8.39–43). In an ultimate sense, the whole of reality is composed of certain constellations of phenomena (*dharmas*). To realise these constellations and the mutual interdependence of phenomena is one of the main tasks of mindfulness practice — in this sense, mindfulness allows the objects of experience to 'speak for themselves and unfold their [ultimate] nature'. Only if phenomena are understood for what they ultimately are can suffering be overcome.

This understanding of phenomena (*dharmas*) points to a realisation beyond words. If the ultimate truth is put into the framework of language it becomes itself a convention. Hence, to name things in a certain way and describe their relations (as is done in the *Abhidhamma*, see below) may point towards an ultimate understanding, but it cannot replace the experience itself. Language can describe experiential phenomenal processes in a limited way. The deeper understanding of the processes goes beyond a conventional and culturally conditioned way of conveyance, such as through the medium of language. This might have been one of the reasons that made the Buddha hesitant about the possibility of teaching the truth he had discovered for himself to others (cf. the part of the *Pāsarāsisutta* (*MN*, *Mūlapannāsa* 3.6.281–282), where the Buddha describes his initial doubts on teaching his realisations on suffering and the way out of suffering to others, because of the profoundness and the subtlety of this truth, which can be 'experienced only by the wise' (*panditavedanīya*)).

Particularly the third part of the Pāli canon — the *Abhidhammapitaka* ('The basket of the [Buddha's] higher doctrine') — is concerned with a phenomenological psychological analysis of things and their relations (cf. Nyanatiloka, 2008). The characteristic of the teachings of the *Abhidhamma*, which in the Theravāda tradition are considered to be the teachings of the Buddha himself, is their focus on ultimately true phenomena (*dharmas*). The books of the *Abhidhammapitaka* and its commentarial literature, particularly the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* (*Abhidh-s*; Bodhi, 2007; Wijeratne & Gethin, 2002), are important means to understand the place of *sati* in Buddhist psychology from the viewpoint of Theravāda Buddhism. In the *Abhidhamma*, the characteristics of phenomena and their relations are analysed. A phenomenological psychological survey must be based on such an analysis (cf. Nyanaponika, 1998).

From the perspective of the *Abhidhamma*, ultimately real phenomena (*dharmas*) are classified into four types: consciousness (*citta*), mental factors

(*cetasikas*), matter (*rūpa*), and the awakened state (*nibbāna*) (*Abhidh-s*, (1).2). The *Abhidhammatthasangaha* lists seventy-two kinds of ultimately existing phenomena (*dhammas*) that are grouped into these four types (cf. *Abhidh-s*, 7.1): consciousness (*citta*) as a single phenomenon, fifty-two mental factors (*cetasikas*), eighteen material phenomena (*rūpa*), and the awakened state (*nibbāna*).

The conditioned experience of humans is based on phenomena (*dhammas*) that belong to the first three types (consciousness (*citta*), mental factors (*cetasikas*), and matter (*rūpa*)). The forth type, *nibbāna*, is a state in which the human potential to step out of the conditioned cycle of experience is realised (*Abhidh-s*, 6.62–65).

Consciousness (*citta*) and mental factors (*cetasikas*) are interdependent categories. From the *Abhidhamma* perspective, consciousness is the process of the cognition of a mental or physical object. Consciousness always performs this process, even though there are many different states of consciousness, due to the presence of different mental factors. Hence, *citta* is described as one single phenomenon. The cognition of a mental or physical object always takes place accompanied by certain mental factors (*cetasikas*). How an object is cognised – that is, the state of one's consciousness at a certain moment – is directly related to the mental factors that condition this state. Consciousness and mental factors are themselves in interdependent relation to the material aspects of being (*rūpa*), which form the physical support for experience.

Nibbāna is an unconditioned state and, strictly speaking, nothing can be said about it from a phenomenological perspective. As Nyanaponika (1998) points out, '... this sole *nonphenomenal* entity belongs likewise to the system of the *Abhidhamma*, but ... it is never enlarged upon because *Nibbāna* is an object of realization and not of philosophical research' (p. 20). However, in the unconditioned state of *nibbāna* mental and physical conditioning is experientially understood for what it ultimately is. The complete understanding of phenomena (*dhammas*) and their relations signifies the end of suffering. If the processes of nature are understood, one's relation to these processes does not cause suffering anymore (see more below under 4.).

In the *Abhidhamma*, experience is analysed as a sequential stream of one state of consciousness after the other. It is based on cause and effect without an inner core or fixed guiding entity, such as a self or soul (*attā*). The belief of an individual in an inherent self independent of the cause-and-effect nexus can be explained through the subtlety of the sequence of states of consciousness. This sequence appears to the non-awakened or cognitively untrained person as an inner, and maybe even unchangeable, identity. The reference to an 'I'-identity or a 'self' may be useful and necessary as a concept, but ultimately experience

can only be understood through the successive states of consciousness. In a section on the mindfulness of death (*maranasati*) in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism*, VIII 39), it is stated that these extremely short moments of consciousness ultimately refer to the life of an individual:

... in the ultimate sense the life-moment of living beings is extremely short, being only as much as the occurrence of a single conscious moment. Just as a chariot wheel, when it is rolling, rolls [that is, touches the ground] only on one point of [the circumference of] its tyre, and, when it is at rest, rests only on one point, so too, the life of living beings lasts only for a single conscious moment. When that consciousness has ceased, the being is said to have ceased,

In this sense, ultimately, a human being exists or consists of successive life-moments (*jīvitakkhanas*) or moments of consciousness (*cittakkhanas*).

The lifespan of one state of consciousness (*citta*) – the moment of consciousness (*cittakkhana*) – comprises its arising (*uppāda*), its presence (*thiti*), and its dissolving (*bhanga*). Given the descriptions in the *Abhidhamma* commentaries that ‘in the time that it takes for lighting to flash or the eyes to blink, billions of mind-moments [*cittakkhanas*] can elapse’ (Bodhi, 2007, p. 156) it may appear untenable that a seemingly simple mindfulness practice such as following one’s breath (see below under 3.) can lead to an experiential understanding of these phenomenological processes. However, from the psychological perspective of the *Abhidhamma*, understanding (*paññā*) ultimately refers to the experiential insight into the smallest building blocks of conditioning. One building block is one state of consciousness, which is based on conditions and becomes one of the conditions for the next state (cf. Bodhi, 2007, pp. 156–159).

All states of consciousness (*citta*) are determined by certain mental factors (*cetasikas*). Mindfulness (*sati*) is one of these fifty-two mental factors. It is termed a general beautiful mental factor (*cetasika sobhanasādhāraṇa*) (*Abhidh-s*, 2.6). *Sati* is present in so-called beautiful consciousness (*sobhanacitta*) (*Abhidh-s*, 1.14). The practice of mindfulness meditation directly relates to the cultivation of inner states that enable beautiful consciousness to manifest in the individual.

It is necessary to reconsider the basic function of consciousness (*citta*) to understand what beautiful consciousness (*sobhanacitta*) means in the context of the *Abhidhamma*: Consciousness is the cognition of a mental or physical object. Certain mental factors (*cetasikas*) need to be present in one’s consciousness so that cognition can take place. The *Abhidhammatthasangaha* lists seven mental factors that can be found in all states of consciousness:

contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), volition (*cetanā*), one-pointedness (*ekaggatā*), the mental life faculty (*jīvitindriya*), and attention (*manasikāra*) (*Abhidh-s*, 2.2; see Bodhi, 2007, pp. 77–81). In addition to these seven ethically variable universal factors, cognition is coloured by other factors that determine the state of consciousness. For example, states of unwholesome consciousness (*akusalacitta*) may include mental factors such as greed (*lobha*), hate (*dosa*), or envy (*issā*).

All states of beautiful consciousness (*sobhanacitta*) involve mindfulness (*sati*). Mindfulness is a part of all the states of consciousness that do not contain unwholesome or harmful mental factors. It is one of the main factors to cultivate the potential to awakening and it is included in all the states of consciousness of those individuals who have realised the awakened state (*nibbāna*).

The mental phenomenon of *sati* is defined as a mindful recollection (*anussati patissati*). It is a quality that is necessary for clear remembrance (*saranatā dhāranatā*). Mindfulness is the opposite of superficiality and obliviousness (*apilāpanatā asammussanatā*) (*Dhs*, 14). In the presence of mindfulness the complete mental immersion (*ogāhanatthena*) into the object of consciousness becomes possible (*As*, 220–221, 253).

In terms of phenomenological psychology, *sati* is a mental phenomenon that is a part of the states of consciousness that lead to increasing understanding of the processes of nature. From the perspective of Buddhist psychology, it is the experiential insight into the nature of mental and physical phenomena, which enables the individual to overcome suffering. *Sati* is necessary for the realisation of insight (*vipassanā*), which is based on a non-wavering consciousness that can immerse into its present object. It is a part of the awakened states of consciousness, in which insight is accomplished and suffering is overcome. From the Buddhist perspective, personal well-being depends on the cultivation, direct experience, and application of this mental factor.

Experiential qualities in the cognitive training of *sati*

From a phenomenological psychological perspective, the Buddhist practice of *sati* is the training in developing states of consciousness that include the mental factor of *sati*. The training in mindfulness is the direct means to address, reduce, and finally overcome unwholesome states of consciousness that are conducive neither to an understanding of the characteristics of the objects that are cognised in one's states of consciousness nor to a general sense of inner peace and well-being. In the training of *sati*, one's conditioning should be refined. Skilful ways of dealing with one's experience should be cultivated. This cultivation should

ultimately lead to a complete understanding of the objects of experience. If things are recognised for what they really are, conditioning is overcome. The person is still bound to the relative truth of life — that is, the concepts that give meaning to the world of one's experience. However, at the same time these concepts are understood from the phenomenological perspective of the absolute truth. Because of this understanding, relative concepts do not cause suffering anymore.

The main Buddhist psychological treatise on mindfulness in the Pāli canon is the *Mahāsatipathānasutta* ('The great discourse on the presence (*upatthāna*) or the foundation (*patthāna*) of mindfulness (*sati*)'; *DN*, Mahāvagga 9 and *MN*, Mūlapannāsa 1.10; cf. Anālayo, 2003, pp. 29–30, regarding different interpretations of the combined terms of *sati* and (*u*)*patthāna*). In this *sutta*, mindfulness is described as the 'direct way' (*ekāyana*; cf. Gethin, 2001, regarding different renderings of *ekāyana*) to overcome suffering. The Buddha describes a fourfold way of establishing mindfulness: the contemplation (*anupassanā*) of the body (*kāya*), feelings (*vedanā*), specific states of consciousness (*citta*), and the contemplation of how certain psychological phenomena (*dhammas*) manifest in the individual. These four foundations (*patthānas*) of mindfulness (*sati*) are regarded as a direct way to realisation, because they enable a thorough analysis of the phenomena that constitute the experience of humans.

The ability to directly observe how the objects arise in one's experience, how they are present for a certain moment in a unique constellation, and how they cease, should enable the individual to develop a clear understanding of his/her personal way of experiencing and consequent behaving. This ability can be systematically trained through mindfulness meditation (cf. Silānanda, 1990; Wallace, 2011).

The four foundations of mindfulness (*satipatthānas* – contemplations of body (*kāyānupassanā*), feelings (*vedanānupassanā*), consciousness (*cittānupassanā*), and specific psychological qualities (*dhammānupassanā*)) in the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta* comprise thirteen meditation methods, which are tools for progressing on the path to a deeper understanding of causation. According to this *sutta*, the perfection of the practice of these meditations leads to *nibbāna* (cf. Anālayo's, 2003, in-depth study of the four *satipatthānas*). Both bodily and mental phenomena are included in the meditation techniques of the cognitive training of *sati*. This signifies an understanding of the interdependence of phenomena common to IP. Mental and physical phenomena are analysed at different levels of fineness or subtlety, but their basic characteristics are the same. In the case of Buddhist meditation, this means that

a thorough understanding of the characteristics of bodily phenomena also reveals the characteristics of mental phenomena, and vice versa.

The basic task of mindfulness meditation is to be in the role of a detached observer of oneself and to note how a certain object of meditation is cognised at the moment of observing. The *satipatthāna* approach is flexible. One may focus on the development of all four *satipatthānas* as outlined in the *sutta*, or one may develop one of the four *satipatthānas*, for example, the contemplation of the body (*kāyānupassanā*; cf. *MN*, Uparipannāsa 2.9 (*Kāyagatāsatisutta*)), or one may only engage in a single meditation method, for example, meditation on the breathing process (cf. *MN*, Uparipannāsa 2.8 (*Ānāpānassatisutta*); Ledi Sayādaw, 1999/2011). Each *satipatthāna*, or a certain meditation method alone, can indirectly generate all four *satipatthānas* and lead to liberation (see Anālayo, 2003; Nyanaponika, 1962). An understanding of all other aspects of the four *satipatthānas* can (indirectly) arise, as soon as one *satipatthāna*, or even only one meditation method (such as the development of mindfulness of the breathing process), is completely mastered. The suitability of certain meditation methods depends on the temperament (*carita*) of the aspirant (cf. *Vim*, 63–70; *Vism*, III; *Abhidh-s*, 9.13–18). For example, mindfulness of the breathing process is especially suitable for people who waver due to discursive thought.

Rapgay & Bystrisky (2009) describe ‘classical mindfulness’, as it is expounded in the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta*, as the simultaneous practice of sustained bare attention and awareness. The distinction between attention and awareness is crucial for an understanding of the psychological mechanisms of ‘classical mindfulness’ in Pāli Buddhism.

Attention (*manasikāra*) is a necessary component of all conscious perception and apperception. It builds the bridge between a physical or mental object and the state of consciousness connected with the object. Rewata Dhamma & Bodhi (in Bodhi, 2007) comment: ‘Attention is the mental factor responsible for the mind’s advertence to the object, by virtue of which the object is made present to consciousness. ... *Manasikāra* ... turns its concomitants [the other mental factors in the same state of consciousness] towards the object ...’ (p. 81). In the psychology of the *Abhidhamma*, attention is one of the seven ethically variable universal factors of consciousness (*Abhidh-s*, 2.2; cf. above under 2.). ‘These factors perform the most rudimentary and essential cognitive functions, without which consciousness of an object would be utterly impossible’ (Bodhi, 2007, p. 78).

In the presence of mindfulness, attention can be developed to the level of ‘sustained bare attention’, which is the prolonged focused concentration on a consciously chosen object. In regard to the meditation methods in the

Mahāsatipatthānasutta, different mental or physical objects are suitable to develop this one-pointed attention. Often the breath is chosen as the object of attention in meditation, because it is the most easily discernible and natural bodily process on which one can focus (see *MN*, Uparipannāsa 2.8 (Ānāpānassatisutta)). Sustained bare attention should be developed to such a degree, that one is able to use the breath (or another object of meditation) as an anchor of concentration to which one can return willingly at any time. In this way, one learns to control the thinking process and to train the mind to consciously return to a one-pointed focus on a certain object.

In Pāli Buddhist psychology, a high degree of attention is necessary to broaden the field of awareness (cf. Gunaratana, 1985). If the mind is focused and attentive to a meditation object (such as the in- and out-breaths), one can at the same time develop a deeper awareness of the physical and mental field in which experience takes place. Focused attention and awareness are thus the means to analyse experiences of the body and mind as described in the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta*.

The practice of *sati* is a technique that enables one to be a detached observer of oneself through its two aspects of sustained attention to an object, which leads to one-pointed concentration (*samatha* or *samādhi*), and simultaneous awareness of the arising, momentary presence, and passing-away of experiences. When these two aspects of mindfulness are cultivated and naturally complement each other, one naturally starts to analyse the causes and effects of certain states of body and mind. This phenomenological analysis, based on clear comprehension (*sampajañña*), leads to insight (*vipassanā*).

Bodhi (2011) characterises the goal of the practice of *sati* as a 'vivid presentation' of the objects that are cognised in one's states of consciousness:

When the object being cognized pertains to the past—when it is apprehended as something that was formerly done, perceived, or spoken—its vivid presentation takes the form of memory. When the object is a bodily process like in-and-out breathing or the act of walking back and forth, or when it is a mental event like a feeling or thought, its vivid presentation takes the form of lucid awareness of the present. (pp. 25–26).

Insight based on *sati* penetrates the whole of one's conditioning. *Sati* leads to a realisation of how past conditioning shapes the present cognition of an object. Insight thus reveals an experiential understanding of the interdependence of phenomena. This understanding pertains, in a dynamic way, to the past, present, and future (cf. Nyanaponika, 1998, pp. 93–114; Ledi Sayādaw, 1961/2007).

Insight enables the individual to let go of harmful and unskilful mental and bodily reactions and to cultivate responses to mental and bodily events that are conducive to personal balance and well-being. Through insight into the nature of phenomena one stops identifying with the states of body and mind in a conditioned self-centred way. Thus the ongoing mental recreation of a certain construction of one's self-identity comes to an end. It is replaced by psychological flexibility that is based on the ability to observe one's mental life in a detached way. The cultivation of *sati* should lead to this psychological flexibility. Ontologically, the goal of mindfulness practice is the realisation of the characteristics of experiential phenomena.

Re-aligning experience

The three characteristics (*lakkhanas*) that should become increasingly clear through the practice of mindfulness meditation are the impermanence (*anicca*), unsatisfactoriness or suffering (*dukkha*), and non-self (*anattā*) of all conditioned mental and physical phenomena (*Vism*, XX). From the perspective of Pāli Buddhist psychology, conditioned phenomena do not have an inherent permanent nature. Conditioned phenomena are ultimately unpleasant, because of their impermanent nature. Freedom from suffering cannot be achieved in the realm of conditioned phenomena, even though there are very pleasant momentary conditioned states. The only way to lasting peace is the complete experiential insight into the characteristics of all phenomenal existence.

The Buddhist notion of non-self (*anattā*) is important to understand how *sati* is felt as a quality in one's experience. Ultimately, it is not an individual, in the sense of an 'I', that trains him-/herself to become more mindful. Mindfulness is a human potential to fully develop the capacities for well-being and liberation. *Sati* is a part of a phenomenal process that manifests within or, in a wider sense, as the individual being who experiences it. The main concern in the Buddhist training of *sati* is a shift in the relationship to the constructed 'I'. The meditator steps out of his/her self-construction and becomes a spectator of it, rather than its fulfiller or victim.

Psychological flexibility resulting from mindfulness meditation is the opposite of craving (*tanhā*), which is the root cause of suffering as described in the four noble truths (see *DN*, Mahāvagga 9(Mahāsatipatthānasutta).400). In Pāli Buddhist psychology, the result of craving is clinging (*upādāna*), which can be psychologically explained as conditioning (cf. *Abhidh-s*, 7.7, 8.4-13). Through the practice of mindfulness meditation it should become clear how the flow of one moment of consciousness after the other is shaped through conditioned ways of relating to physical and mental objects. This relation is

based on craving after phenomena in certain ways, which leads to clinging to specific ideas of how phenomena are to be perceived and apperceived. These ideas constitute an individual's conditioned self-identity, which, from the Buddhist perspective, is a wrong view (*ditthi*) based on delusion (*moha*) or on ignorance (*avijjā*) of the interdependent and impermanent nature of phenomena (cf. *Abhidh-s*, 2.5, 20; Bodhi, 2007).

Sati should enable the individual to connect to a subtle dimension in the processes of perception and apperception. This dimension is usually hidden to the cognitively untrained by the process of conceptual proliferation (*papañca*; cf. Kuan, 2008). Conceptual proliferation refers to the framing of an experiential phenomenon into the perspective of the conditioned 'I'. Thus, in apperception a split occurs between the experiencer and the experienced. It is not the phenomenon itself that is recognised, but the conceptually proliferated version of the phenomenon, which derives from the individually conditioned way of relating to the phenomenon. Mindfulness is the means to make the processes of perception and apperception clear; that is, both the phenomenon itself in its true interdependent form and the process of relating to the phenomenon and of transforming it in a way that it becomes a part of the individual's conditioned worldview are recognised.

The psychological question that arises here is why the practice of stepping out of the constructed ego and learning to watch the phenomenal processes of human nature without direct entanglement in them is connected with profound well-being and, in the final stage, liberation from all suffering. The crucial statement of the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta*'s refrain is that mindfulness leads to detachment. One stops clinging to anything in the world (cf. *DN*, Mahāvagga 9 (*Mahāsatipatthānasutta*).374). Paradoxically, this non-clinging to anything in the world, which is based on the realisation that a human being is a part of phenomenal interdependent processes without an inherent self, enables the individual to fully engage in the world. From the Buddhist perspective, the innermost human potential can only start to flourish if the main hindrance of habitual reactivity connected with a conditioned 'I'-identity is overcome.

Sati is the practice that lays the illusion of such an 'I'-identity bare. It is the direct antidote to the fear that maintains the clinging to this illusion. This means that one's construction of reality is relativised and clearly seen as a construction. A person's activities in daily life may not change after the realisation of the cognitive processes in this way, but one becomes free from the suffering that is caused by identification – in the sense of a fixed identity of self – with these processes.

From the Buddhist psychological perspective, *sati* corrects or re-aligns the relation to psychological processes so that this relation does not conflict with

the ultimate characteristics of phenomena. The immediate result of this re-alignment is increasing mental and physical well-being, happiness, and balance. A Buddhist explanation for these effects seems to be simple: *Sati* is a means that allows natural processes to work undisturbed and these processes in their pure form do not cause mental suffering. At the same time, *sati* heals the damages that are based on past disturbances. This healing is the result of growing understanding, which itself is the consequence of one's mindfulness meditation. Understanding enables one to modify behaviour that does not conform with the natural phenomenological processes that one has realised through the practice of mindfulness.

Mindfulness, ethics, and wisdom

An important question regarding behaviour modification and mindfulness practice is how the dimensions of Buddhist practice in the noble eightfold path relate to each other — the three dimensions of ethics (*sīla*), which includes right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanta*), and right livelihood (*sammājīva*); meditation or concentration (*samādhi*), which includes right effort (*sammāyāyāma*), right mindfulness (*sammāsatī*), and right concentration (*sammāsamādhi*); and understanding or wisdom (*paññā*), which includes right view (*sammāditthi*) and right intention (*sammāsankappa*). The Buddha's instructions on mindfulness (cf. *SN*, Mahāvagga 12.369 (Bhikkhusutta)) and Theravāda Buddhist meditation manuals (*Vim*; *Vism*) suggest, that the practice of mindfulness can only be developed if it is based on certain ways of ethical conduct and behaviour restrictions. However, the three dimensions of the noble eightfold path interact dynamically and interdependently.

In regard to its role within the practice of the noble eightfold path, Bodhi (2011) describes *sati* 'as a guarantor of the correct practice of all the other path factors' (p. 26; cf. the *Mahācattārīsakasutta* (*MN*, Uparipannāsa 2.7), to which Bodhi refers). It is necessary to have a highly developed ethical conduct and a certain degree of understanding of what may be fruitful for the clarification of the characteristics of one's predicament, otherwise a person will not seriously retreat to a practice like mindfulness meditation. On the other hand, within the structure of Buddhist training, the practice of mindfulness meditation is the method that results in increasing experiential understanding. This understanding directly transforms one's behaviour. Unethical and unskilful behaviour is naturally modified. A controlled mind and insight lead to behaviour that is conducive to personal well-being.

In the experience of insight, the subject and object of experience are understood within the broader context of phenomenal interdependence.

Individual experience and behaviour directly relate to the collective (see Nyanaponika, 2010). Ethics in the system of Buddhism mirrors this understanding of one's experience. One's personal experience is a part of an interdependent process and does not belong to an isolated 'I' (cf. Harvey, 2000). On a relational psychological level interdependence manifests as intersubjectivity; that is, one recognises that within the cause-and-effect nexus there are ultimately no boundaries between oneself and others (cf. Wallace, 2001; Virtbauer, 2010). Mental and physical phenomena lack an inherent self-nature. They have to be analysed in a network of causation. *Sati* is the practical tool that enables one to understand how phenomena interrelate.

An even more open interpretation of the method of *sati* may be based on the notion of conformity or inference (*anvaya*), which is crucial for the understanding of causation in Buddhist phenomenological psychology. Inference in the context of the Buddha's teachings suggests '... that the laws of nature, as we may call them, discovered by the Buddha ... are always true. The inference follows that whoever, whenever, discovers them must find them to be the same' (Warder, 1980, p. 117). This means that the Buddha's teachings are open to individual enquiry and are not to be understood as a doctrine that is to be followed without direct proofs of the results of the practice in one's experience. Buddhist psychology may be described as an inductive practical theory that introspectively and experientially needs to be tested through first-person qualitative investigation against the backdrop of deductive reasoning. The Buddha emphasised introspective understanding and critical reflection of all doctrines (cf., e.g., *AN*, Tikanipāta (7) 2.66 (Kesamuttisutta); Soma, 1959/2008). Conceptual and doctrinal rigidity contradicts the essence of mindfulness practice and the Buddha's teachings as a whole. However, mindfulness as a traditional Buddhist practice has to be placed within the entire structure of the Buddha's teaching (cf. Bodhi's, 1988, commentary on the *Kesamutti* (or *Kālāma*) *Sutta*). It is a method of mind cultivation that cannot be divided from the other factors of the noble eightfold path.

Conclusion

This survey on *sati* clarifies essential phenomenological psychological characteristics of this ancient Buddhist concept and practice. The Buddhist psychological understanding of *sati* as presented in this article also indirectly addresses two of the weaknesses in the current Western psychological discourses on mindfulness. Though the Western concept of mindfulness in the context of psychology and therapy must be distinguished from *sati* in Buddhist psychology (cf. Bishop et al., 2004), it is based on the roots of mindfulness in IP.

Mindfulness practice developed through introspective enquiry and qualitative investigation. The practice of mindfulness meditation has been not only the outcome of such enquiries, but also the instrument that has enabled increasingly deeper ways of understanding experiential phenomena. The practice has continuously developed through its reception in different systems and cultures at different times. The life history of the Buddha is one example of how new ways of understanding meditative methods developed through meditation itself.

Mindfulness practice plays two roles in the process of clarifying human experience and behaviour — it clarifies the phenomenon of mindfulness itself and other experiential phenomena. This is, for example, mirrored in the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta*'s part on the contemplation of specific psychological qualities (*dharmānupassanā*), where the mindfulness meditator is asked to observe if mindfulness itself, as one of the awakening factors (*bojjhangas*), is present in one's consciousness at the moment of observing (*DN*, *Mahāvagga* 9.385).

To reduce mindfulness research to measureable correlates of this practice is at odds with the long history of its development. It is impossible to further develop the Western concept and theory of mindfulness without research on the experience of mindfulness itself. Such research depends on introspective and qualitative methods. Interdisciplinary investigations into the roots of mindfulness practice and new ways of undertaking qualitative first-person research are two inevitable bases for the further theoretical development of mindfulness in the West.

The Indian psychological approaches to mindfulness, such as the Buddhist concept of *sati*, may help to revive an introspective psychology in the West. Mindfulness may successfully bridge first- and third-person approaches to research on experience and behaviour (cf. Williams & Kabat-Zinn, 2011). As a living theory and practice that 'distinguishes the worthy from the unworthy things, avoids the unworthy and obtains the worthy' (Soma, 1981/2003, p. xviii), it appears to be the experiential phenomenon that can play the crucial role within a continuous Enlightenment movement.

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DANCING INTO NON- CONSCIOUSNESS – THE RITUAL TRANSMISSION OF JAPANESE BUTŌ DANCE OF OHNO YOSHITO

Michael Weiss

A summer evening in Yokohama. Dancers have gathered in the studio of *butō* 舞踏 master Ohno Yoshito 大野慶人. The sound of cicadas accompanies the sensitive atmosphere. While moving through phases of ritual introspections, Ohno Yoshito tells the dancers: “Don’t have any consciousness.”¹ Therein, the dimension of *mushin* 無心 (‘non-consciousness’)² is touched upon, offering both an explored experience of these words’ meaning within bodymind and the entrance into an existential voyage for one’s psychophysical identity: Who am I - without being conscious, without a consciousness? Am I (still) me, is there a ‘me’? What then moves (me), who then moves (me)?

This essay is a phenomenologically oriented attempt to discuss Ohno Yoshito’s reflection as it is manifested through dance practice in his ritual transmission of *butō* (*bu* 舞: ‘to dance’; *-tō* 踏: ‘step’). Speaking of philosopher Martin Heidegger, such a convergence is grounded on trying “to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself”³ (- and not as I think what it might be). Therefore, such a project fundamentally ought to be an *attempt*, connected to an awareness of the temporary nature of subjective understanding in such a transcultural study as well as its attempts of interpretation through the lens of personal comprehension.

1. Workshop, August 3, 2004. Kamihoshikawa [location of dance studio; situated in Hodogaya district in Yokohama (Kanagawa prefecture)], I [Interpreter]: Hashimoto Keiko.

2. Skt. *acetana*.

3. 1995 [1972]:58.

Based on the one hand, on dialogues⁴ with Ohno Yoshito and the dancers,⁵ this text also relies on my own personal dancing experience in the studio, rehearsals and performances during field research.⁶ Beginning with a brief introduction of the creation and development of butō dance, it continues with a rudimentary portrayal of Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission. This will lead to a consideration of the ritual dance practice towards a realization of *mushin* occurring therein, by means of listening to the voices of the dancers. Hence, this essay shall be an invitation to contemplate the realm of *mushin*.

With respect to the far reaching subtleties of *mushin* as offered through performative rituals by Ohno Yoshito as well as his and the dancers affiliated reflections, this text only can point to its very fundamentals. Besides, this text does not concentrate on the research pursued by the dancers into experiencing and understanding dimensions of suffering, grief and empathy as pivotal essences of Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission in order to develop non-dualistic insight.⁷ Instead, this consideration looks at the basic dynamics as to how Ohno Yoshito encourages dancers to contact their *subjective bodymind* through opening themselves up to their unconscious experiences in order to enter a transformation toward a *universal bodymind*, referred to as 'non-consciousness'. For reasons to do with the complexity of consciousness studies, I will entirely focus on the butō dance perspective as offered by Ohno Yoshito – hoping, the following contemplations on *mushin* may serve as a bridge for transdisciplinary dialogue.

Formation of Butō - A Brief Consideration

Firstly, let us look at the history of this art. Originated in Japan in the late 1950s, butō was initiated by Hijikata Tatsumi 土方巽 (1928-1986), and

4. I prefer to speak of *dialogues* instead of *interviews* because of mutual and interrelational qualities involved in the dynamics of the personal relation during an encounter. Amongst them are balances between narrative-biographical story telling and mindful-sympathizing listening, awareness of and reactions to physical signs (vocal, facial, gesticulatory, and body language) as well as dimensions of *positive regard*, *congruence* and *empathy* as fundamental attitudes. These three approaches are inspired by the personcentered psychotherapeutic approach of Carl R. Rogers (1961:49-56, 60-63, 282-285, 338-346), adapted as a reflective practice for an entire research process (for further thoughts on their implementation in a research context of social and cultural anthropology see Weiss 2011:48-52).

5. I refer to any person participating in Ohno Yoshito's workshops as *dancer* for he does not distinguish between categories of 'professional' versus 'amateurish' dancers. For a further reflection on this issue see Weiss 2011:90, 109-111, 112.

6. As for literature on Ohno Yoshito, to my knowledge, there are no publications on his butō to-date, which is why this essay relies on field research.

7. For a convergence toward these areas, see Weiss (2011).

furthermore, essentially developed by him and Ohno Kazuo 大野一雄 (1906-2010),⁸ the father of Ohno Yoshito (1938). Against a complex historical and socio-cultural background – e.g. reforms during the *Meiji* era (*Meiji jidai* 明治時代) from 1868 onwards, determined by radical Europeanisation, the rise and fall of the colonial empire, Japan's capitulation in World War II, followed by its US occupation and again, reforms on a massive scale – butō evolved in a catalytic atmosphere. Anti-American protests and experiments of the avant-garde alternated with intercultural inspirations (e.g. existentialism, German expressionist dance [*Ausdruckstanz*]) and intracultural innovations (e.g. re-ritualizations of centuries-old Japanese dance and theatre traditions such as Nō 能 or Kabuki 歌舞伎). Borne by the research of its two founders, a butō scene came into existence with Ohno Yoshito as a key figure from the very beginning. Butō's internationalization commenced in the 1980s, resulting with the emergence of groups and solo dancers worldwide.⁹

Transmission of Butō by Ohno Yoshito - A Ritual Path of Insight¹⁰

From there, let us turn to the next part of our consideration: Ohno Yoshito's ritual butō transmission. Practiced as a path gaining ontological insight, its transmission emerges as an existential search into one's being in relation with that of all other phenomena.¹¹ For dancers who visit his studio, Ohno Yoshito tries to open up a process of fundamental questions – based on an entity of butō-and-life and danced within a unity of body-and-mind. He interpreted the basis of butō's two founders into dance rituals, cultivating them into a butō cosmology that is also inspired by principles of Zen 禪 Buddhism. Therefore, Ohno Yoshito accompanies dancers on a path of insight whose intention consists of the realization of *emptiness* (skt. *śūnyatā*; jap. *kū* 空). The state in which it manifests itself is called *mushin*, the aforementioned 'non-consciousness' that appears as a condition beyond dualistic perceptions.

Several times a week, Ohno Yoshito gives two-hour evening workshops there. Through experience and research of performative rituals that last from a few minutes to one and a half hours, their character consists of partially

8. For a detailed study on the creation of butō on the basis of the biographies of its two founders Hijikata Tatsumi und Ohno Kazuo see Lucia Schwellinger (1998:22-95, 136-162).

9. An overview on butō literature (until 2011, works in Japanese excluded, without claim to completeness) is to be found in my dissertation (2011:919-926).

10. Comp. Marianne Nürnberger (1998:94f.) who speaks about movement and dance as a path of insight.

11. The term *phenomenon* refers to all physical and psychological phenomena.

structured improvisation. This aspect of improvisational activity, indicates a transformative development toward a spontaneity deriving from non-dualistic insight. Instead of merely 'free' dancing, butō emanates from a personal research lasting for years in order to create a genuine dance founded upon a bodymind focussed insight into the non-duality of emptiness. Within and from here, butō's 'freedom' unfolds. In this regard, the Zen term *mushin* is an expression for a condition of complete freedom from dualistic thinking and feeling¹² which is why such liberty shall be realized on the path of butō. With this in mind, as it is an existential process, Ohno Yoshito says - by pointing at the *bushhi* 仏師 ('Buddha masters') who generated Buddha statues in year-long work: "It must have taken seven or eight years to make one Buddha statue. So if you take seven or eight years for making a dance, the dance will be a very nice one."¹³

With respect to the performative rituals, Ohno Yoshito creates a corresponding atmosphere with nuances of lighting, sound, musical elements and the realm of stillness. Interchanging between periods of his poetic reflections (along with their embodiment) and dance activity, he accompanies the dancers into a multidimensional field of inspirations. Thereby, the performative rituals are both parts of the entirety of his butō and at the same time each of them contains this very entirety. Interwoven as they are, I therefore want to refer to them as *ritual sequences*.

Groups of international dancers visit his workshops, some over many years at a time. Participation is open to everybody, disregarding dance experience or age - one's authentic presence is decisive. Art and life ought to form an entity through which the way of dance becomes a way of life. Ohno Yoshito declares: "Daily life is the butō teacher."¹⁴ Consequently, his butō develops from the whole scope of psycho-physical experiences instead of a codefied vocabulary of movements. With this in mind, Gōda Nario 合田成男, reflecting on this art as a butō critic since its very beginning, states: "To discover dance we need to have the eye to discover the human truth in daily life."¹⁵

Processes of introspection and the ritual integration of the unconscious - intending to transform dualistic identity perceptions - mould butō into a highly sensitive path. Therefore, Ohno Yoshito specifically unfolds three basic principles within his transmission: empathy, trust, and congruence. Guided by

12. Comp. [The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen] 1991, s.v. 'mushin'.

13. Workshop, July 28, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. I: Okamoto Emi 岡本恵美.

14. Workshop, July 6, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko. With this reflection he quotes his father Ohno Kazuo.

15. Dialogue, July 7, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

non-judgemental acceptance and appreciation of the dancers, he enunciates: "Everyone is unique and so, so precious."¹⁶ This attitude provides resources for sentient developments of the dancers, who shall create their genuine butō dance over time.

Intention of Butō - Realization of Mushin

Following this rudimentary portrayal of some aspects of Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission, conveyed through ritual sequences, let us go one step further toward the network of his butō cosmology and its meaning: the realization of *mushin*, 'non-consciousness'. Led by Ohno Yoshito's reflections, we are to encounter its basic dynamic, to be widened by personal contemplations of the dancers as to how they experience such a transformative development.

As stated before, *mushin* is a *non-dualistic* condition of bodymind. Therein, a *non-separating* awareness of phenomena appears, that ought to be manifested in the gestalt of a practice of dance as well practice of life. *Mushin* is the comprehension of the existential realm of emptiness – thus, touching the entire person – with respect to two levels of insight: firstly, the mutual conditionality of all phenomena (skt. *pratītya-samutpāda*; jap. engi 縁起), and secondly, the impermanence of all phenomena (skt. *anitya*; jap. *mujō* 無常). Mutual conditionality means that each phenomenon is *empty* from absolute independence and autonomy. Impermanence means that each phenomenon is *empty* from absolute permanence, therefore existing in continuous transformation. As manifestation of emptiness, *mushin* is a non-dualistic state of bodymind in which phenomena are no longer perceived as dualistic, that is, separated from one's own identity through their assumed permanence and autonomy. Consequently, Ohno Yoshito states: "The essence of life is emptiness."¹⁷

From there, let us, in principle, pose a question: how does Ohno Yoshito accompany dancers into such a process of insight? As a bridge for our understanding, I would like to introduce the foundation of this development in three cycles based on Ohno Yoshito's reflections. Yet, it should be said in advance: In Ohno Yoshito's butō, we encounter an identity perception of the *I* (*ego*), that is understood as a *dualistic* consciousness. Such an identity of *I* experiences itself as absolutely independent, autonomous and permanent – hence, it distinguishes between phenomena toward an absolute separation – be it between person and person (e.g.: friend/enemy) or person and 'non-person'

16. Dialogue, July 30, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

17. Dialogue, September 1, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. I: Okamoto Emi.

(e.g.: human/nature). Therefore, *butō* is a path of insight toward a transformation from *I-consciousness* to *non-consciousness*.

With this in mind, let us return to the three cycles¹⁸ that do not represent any consecutive development, rather a reticulating and overlapping field of shifting transformations. The first one is illustrated by Ohno Yoshito's words: "The essence of art is to find who you are."¹⁹ As for the next cycle, Ohno Yoshito says: "If you look for 'I am', 'I', 'I', 'I', it's not good."²⁰ The last one is mirrored in his contemplation: "You need to look at your Self."²¹ Elucidating it, he states: "Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me."²² Therein, we encounter a transformative dynamic. It leads from the dimension of *I* (cycle I) through its negation (cycle II) into the realm of *Self* (cycle III). In the first cycle we see: researching *butō* is studying the *I* ("the essence of art is to find who you are"). The next cycle reveals: understanding the *I* is its negation ("if you look for 'I am', 'I', 'I', 'I', it's not good"). And the final cycle depicts how such a negation of the *I* is the realization of one-(as)-Self - as the entire universe.²³ ("You need to look at your Self. Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me.")

At this point of our consideration we may ask: What does Ohno Yoshito mean by talking about *I* versus *Self*? Why should dancers discover their personalities without searching for their *I*, instead a *Self*? And why shall they - beyond that - realize even further being both themselves as well as sun and moon? Let us enter these questions in order to search for answers. Before doing so, as we are dealing with dissimilar terms of same meaning, I want to emphasize that Ohno Yoshito uses various words for one state of insight. Therefore, the realization of *Self*, *mushin* or *emptiness* denote one same condition. Accentuating *mushin* in this essay, I will integrate the other two terms in accordance with reflections of the *butō* dancers.

Viewed in principle, Ohno Yoshito accompanies dancers into a process of insight that spans from studying the *dualistic I* toward its negation in order to

18. This is solely my supporting construct for a better comprehension as Ohno Yoshito does not explicitly transmit his *butō* in such cycles.

19. Workshop, July 28, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. I: Okamoto Emi.

20. Rehearsal for 'The Precious Person' (*Taisetsu na Hito* 大切なひと), June 30, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

21. Ibid.

22. Workshop, July 6, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

23. This idea traces back to a reflection of Zen master Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200-1253) who said about the path of *satori* 悟り ('enlightenment'): "To learn the Buddha Way is to learn one's self. To learn one's self is to forget one's self. To forget one's self is to be confirmed by all dharmas." (1977 [1233]:41, Transl.: Abe Masao 阿部正雄 & Norman Waddell.)

realize the *non-dualistic Self*. Whilst an identity perception of *I* would absolutely separate between phenomena like you, me, sun and moon, the awareness of *Self* discovers its identity *before* such a separation: namely, its *existence-as-being-in-between*²⁴. This identity is at the same time uniquely-subjective (existence-as-being-in-between) and similarly-universal (existence-as-being-in-between). Accordingly, the phenomena of you, me, sun and moon would be recognized as being *empty* from independence and permanence. Such is the basic meaning of *kū*, the non-dualistic emptiness.

Manifested as *Self*, the process toward such a realization leads from the examination of *I*-consciousness to its negation into the recognition of non-consciousness. Hence, if a phenomenon were to be exclusively on its own - separation would be the consequence. If it was solidly permanent, it could not develop and interchange - un-relatedness would be the consequence. Therefore, *kū* implies *both* the emptiness from a separate un-relatedness and the fullness of uniting in connection. Consequently, Ohno Yoshito states: "Nothingness is fullness."²⁵ For that reason he tries to accompany the dancers to realize this experientially through the practice of *butō* by saying:

If you keep your body [understood as unity of body-and-mind] empty then everything can be revealed. If you fix it and fill it with one thing [contrary to being *fulfilled* through being *empty*, here, Ohno Yoshito speaks of being *filled*, thus being blocked] everything will stop there. So, when it's empty, the very firm, very strong and very delicate, very tender - can come out all together.²⁶

Such a dancing body (mind) of ego-lessness can manifest as the fullness of emptiness as indicated earlier. In other words: Ohno Yoshito refers to a difference between a fulfilled body of ego-lessness and a body filled with ego-centricity. An empty body (mind) is a fulfilled body (mind) - empty from *I*-consciousness' fixations of autonomy, independence and permanence as an absolute individual, thus, fulfilled with non-consciousness' inspirations of mutual conditionality and impermanence as a relative individual. Therefore, such a dancing body (mind) existentially opens to the qualities mentioned:

24. A term informed by Buddhist thought, elaborated e.g. in the work *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā* 中觀論 ('Fundamental Verses on the Middle Way'; jap.: *Chūkan ron*) of Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna 龍樹 (jap. *Ryūjū*; 2/3 century CE; see e.g.: *Die Philosophie der Leere: Nāgārjunas Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikās* [The Philosophy of Emptiness: Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikās] Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).

25. Workshop, July 6, 2004. Kamihoshikawa, I: Hashimoto Keiko.

26. Workshop, July 7, 2004. Kamihoshikawa, I: Hashimoto Keiko.

"The very firm, very strong and very delicate, very tender". This is why Yoshito utters – as cited at the beginning of this essay: "*Don't have any consciousness.*"

With this in mind, butō dancer Tokumitsu Kayoko 徳光加与子 says: "[As] a part of butō we need to throw away [the] ego. [...] But after [that] we can find our personality."²⁷ Hence, becoming egoless is no loss of one's identity, quite the contrary, it results in discerning universal identity as subjective identity, thus unfolding butō from there. Viewed from this perspective, each phenomenon exists as a result of interdependent processes forming a network of mutual conditionality arising from impermanence as the dynamic of transformation. In Ohno Yoshito's contemplation on being the sun and becoming the moon, accordingly, sun and moon are no longer 'outer' objects looked at by an 'inner' personal subject; rather, they are experienced in non-dualistic unity with one's own personhood. As Self, a person's identity - as with any phenomenon - concurrently is subjective-and-universal. Thus, the dancers shall not only realize being in relation *with* phenomena but being *through* them, finally discovering themselves *to be relation*. This is why Ohno Yoshito manifests the dimension of *mushin* when saying: "*Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me.*" His words indicate that all phenomena exist as *emptiness* from both independence (sun, earth, moon and people require each other) and permanence (sun, earth, moon and people are transient).

Integration of the Unconscious - Transformation of I-Consciousness

So far, I hope we have gained a first glance with regard to Ohno Yoshito's butō intention. His ritual transmission forms an existential path that begins with the thorough exploration of one's personality of bodymind; due to the integration of the unconscious, it epitomizes a challenging path that leads to an encounter with one's *I*-consciousness that perceives itself as independent and permanent; ergo, it is a transformative path toward non-consciousness. Questions are danced-and-lived until the confined subjective identity of *I* metamorphoses into an opened subjective-universal identity of *Self*. With this in mind, let us listen to Miguel Angel Granileo, an Argentinian butō dancer of Japanese origin who studied with Ohno Kazuo as well as Ohno Yoshito. He stated in a dialogue:

The butō basic is: You are looking for your essence, your life essence.
[...] Touch your life and express your life. [...] The butō dance is a

27. Dialogue, July 22, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. Additions in brackets M.W.

permanent question. Not with your brain. It's difficult - the brain is necessary. Yourself is necessary - but it is not unique. For example. [While speaking, he draws shapes in a jotter, one of which symbolizes me.] Here is Michael. But if you believe - 'I'm Michael. I'm 26 years and I dance. Only my imagination is good, my movement is good.' You can think [like that], but [it] is [a] small, small world. The universe world is big, very big - you don't understand. No limit. And this universe and your universe have everything. You don't know. I think, one contact with this universe, if you can [have] one little contact, your movement change[s], your vision change[s].²⁸

Therein, Miguel Angel Granileo points at the very fundamentals of butō: a quest for the meaning of identity (*"you are looking for your essence, your life essence"*); the dynamic of insight toward egolessness (*"yourself is necessary - but it is not unique"*), based on assuming the intellect is no more than a fragmented segment of the human mind amidst a vast evolutionary diversity of abilities (*"not with your brain"*); furthermore, the experience of sameness and mutual conditionality of all phenomena (*"this universe and your universe have everything"*); and, finally, the realization of non-consciousness (*"I think one contact with this universe, if you can [have] one little contact, your movement change[s], your vision change[s]"*). It all may lead toward an existential transformation: a subjective-universal identity. With respect to such a path, a previous reflection of Ohno Yoshito once more gains significance: *"So if you take seven or eight years for making a dance, the dance will be a very nice one."* Dancing butō is discovering time as intrinsic and primordial subjectivity instead of objective and calculable measurement; therefore, qualities of patient mindfulness and quiet waiting are decisive. Let us continue to listen to Miguel Angel Granileo who refers to this very process:

How do you develop your energy? [This] is [a] big question. [...] [It] is maybe - [how] do you say in English - [it] is the little illumination you search [for] with your life or energy, your power [o]n the stage, in the training. [...] But the problem is: [It is] no step, no technique; it's not direct development. One day you [are] training, training, training, dance, dance, dance, you don't know why, yes? One day you discover and you say: 'Oh, okay, it's my dance. It's my movement.'

28. Dialogue, July 30, 1999. Yokohama. Additions in brackets M.W.

Miguel Angel Granileo goes on to tell about a specific day in his development as a *butō* dancer:

This day I came first [to the studio], Yoshito and me only [were there]. And [Ohno] Yoshito sa[id]: 'What did you do today?' I sa[id]: 'I don't know. I have a little idea with percussion music.' Yoshito sa[id]: 'Okay, dance!' I started the dance and Yoshito put the music and [I danced] non-stop for one hour - the dance. In this time I changed. And Yoshito [said to me]: 'Okay, good, good, good.' It's difficult to explain the development of the *butō* dance.²⁹

Miguel Angel Granileo refers to his process to a realization of non-consciousness. Here, it becomes evident how in preliminary periods it is crucial to enter the unconscious realms. Speaking with Miguel Angel Granileo, the path toward such a "*little illumination*" is not an immediate methodology that is based on formal techniques. Instead, a psychological process of change is required, manifesting itself in the dancing body. In the following comment by Ohno Yoshito: "Dance must awaken us to what lies beneath the surface of our everyday lives."³⁰ Occurring through the practice of his performative rituals, the *integration of the unconscious* enables such a dancing process that facilitates the *transformation of the I-consciousness* in order to realize non-consciousness. With this in mind, let us look at a ritual sequence given by Ohno Yoshito in his studio in Kamihoshikawa. Providing a ritual fundament to enter such a process, it is one out of many to facilitate dancers in an evolution that shall concern them existentially, that is, in their entirety. In the following, I give a brief description of the ritual sequence.

From a corner place where he operates light and music, Ohno Yoshito walks to the group of dancers standing at the back of the studio in a loose row. In doing so, he continuously gets slower until he carefully moves from one step to the other, saying: "Walk at the end [Ohno Yoshito refers to the distance toward the opposite studio wall], and the theme is sleep. What is sleep? Walking, sleeping, walking and that's all."³¹ Accompanied by a quiet musical piece, we stand motionless at the beginning, gradually starting to walk – most of us gently, slowly, without further body movements. Scarcely noticeable, Ohno Yoshito dims the light; as we reach the middle of the studio, he switches

29. Dialogue, July 30, 1999. Yokohama. Additions in brackets M.W.

30. 2004:46. With this remark, he interprets a reflection of his father Ohno Kazuo: "Under us lies a lateral space." (Ibid.)

31. Workshop, July 21, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko. Addition in brackets M.W.

off part of the spotlights. As a consequence, only half of the studio is illuminated, leaving us – according to the given position – in light, shadow or darkness. Then, Ohno Yoshito dims the remaining light until complete blackness. After a short period, all lights go on.

In this ritual sequence, I believe the basis of its dynamic within Ohno Yoshito *butō* cosmology, is that he refers to the transitional phase between the states of dormancy and awakeness or between consciousness and unconsciousness. His staging of the light signifies these transitional phases. Imperceptibly, the light decreases until just half of the studio is illuminated. Therein, symbolically, both the dimensions of dormancy-awakeness and consciousness-unconsciousness appear. Finally, the studio gets entirely blacked out, to be illuminated again later. Hence, the transitional phase happens again. Together with this specific light arrangement, the dynamic of this ritual sequence consists in simultaneous *walking* (as conscious realm) and *sleeping* (as unconscious realm); yet, its intention lies in dispersing the interface between consciousness and unconsciousness, transforming disconnections to interconnections, enabling to encounter, investigate and understand these two faces of existence.

Let us further question the dynamic as to how this might become possible. Two development dynamics become visible. The first one is to be found in the *walking dance* of the performers. Ohno Yoshito's following words unveil its significance: "To walk is to walk your life. [...] To walk is to show your life."³² Hence, the art of *butō* is fundamentally based on the act of walking as a revelation of one's entire personality.³³ Rooted therein, by means of *danced sleep*, the second development dynamic shall open the dimension of the unconscious. Ohno Yoshito facilitates the dancers to put the *I*-consciousness in its cognitively controlling functions last ("*walking, sleeping, walking and that's all*"). Due to this very process, they can enter a state of unintentional dancing. Therein, movements of bodymind no more rely on an intentional conduct by the *I*-consciousness, instead, they are based on unconscious dancing in a conscious state. In this way, *butō* may become an *embodied occurrence of letting occur*. Therefore, Ohno Yoshito encourages to dance "without intention or consciousness".³⁴ For our further understanding, a reflection of *butō* dancer

32. Workshop, July 28, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. I: Okamoto Emi.

33. A further description of its importance in Ohno Yoshito's *butō* can be found in Weiss 2011:135f., 391-440.

34. Dialogue, July 21, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

and psychotherapist Harada Hiromi 原田広美³⁵ is helpful: "In butō, movements are very consciously done in an unconscious area of the body-mind dimension."³⁶ In this respect, Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission is determined by continuous practice to unfold a mindful presence toward an identity of consciousness and unconsciousness, enabling dancers to act unintentionally and imminently from moment to moment - based on their embodied knowledge.

Butō dancer Yamaguchi Kenji 山口健二 who participated in Ohno Yoshito's workshops for long years³⁷ says: "I tr[ie]d to dance] by my consciousness or by my information but I absolutely couldn't do it."³⁸ Instead, he experienced:

On stage many time[s] I caught some strange feeling. It will come to me accidentally. Maybe some special balance of my conscious[ness] with my unconsciousness building suddenly. So [it] always come[s] to me when I start to stop my self wishes. [...] It is not choreography, not making.³⁹

Defocussing the precedence of conscious choreography and actions, according to Yamaguchi Kenji, points toward *no-choreography* and *no-action*. As synonyms for the realization of non-consciousness as there is *no ego* involved anymore, they derive from such a "*special balance*" between consciousness and unconsciousness. In other words, conscious and unconscious experiences shall be disclosed in order to manifest the entire person. The dancer should realize a state of oneness of conscious and unconscious experience, that is, entering an intuitive realm of *embodied occurrence to let phenomena occur*. Consequently, this ritual sequence's focus is directed toward a „*special balance*“ between conscious and unconscious experience that becomes possible through a transformation of *I-consciousness* controlling 'barriers'.

Thus, at this rudimentarily sketched development stage in butō, the intent lies in realizing the *full potential of an entire person*. Keeping in mind the inherent capacity of such a process to enter unconscious realms by means of an improvisational dance, the performer undergoes a perilous process at times.

35. Also the author of a butō publication in Japanese, titled *Butō Encyclopaedia: The Kingdom of Darkness and Light* (*Butoh taizen: ankoku to hikari no ōkoku* 舞踏大全：暗黒と光の王国) 2004. Tōkyō: Gendaishokan (551 pp.).

36. Dialogue, April 10, 2005. Vienna.

37. He used to be a regular dancer in the workshops of Ohno Kazuo as well.

38. Dialogue, July 23, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. Additions in brackets M.W.

39. Ibid.

Drawing back to the ritual sequence in between light and darkness, a reflection of butō founder Hijikata Tatsumi brings this to the fore: "Darkness is the best symbol for light. There is no way that one can understand the nature of light if one never observes deeply the darkness. A proper understanding of both requires that both their inherent natures be truly understood."⁴⁰ The realization of butō is imminently bound to a comprehension of one's own realm of 'darkness' (e.g. suppressed, dissociated, projected dimensions) in order to develop a discernment of 'light' (e.g. congruent, accepting, emphatic potentials). As Hijikata Tasumi emphasizes, "*darkness is the best symbol for light*" because the dancers can only become as 'bright' as they are able to realize their 'dark'.⁴¹ In this sense, butō's other founder Ohno Kazuo emphasizes: "My art is an art of improvisation. It is dangerous. To succeed, one must first reach the very depth of the human soul". As he accentuates, such a challenging process toward personal insight comes *first*. If we remember the three circles, this stage relates to circle one ("*the essence of art is to find who you are*"). With this in mind, let us again listen to Yamaguchi Kenji who tells about his further butō process:

Sometimes I feel I want to be a diver [in] my blood, you know. So, but I use my conscious[ness] just like a small submarine. So [I] put myself - it's a small base, [a] small submarine - [in]to the blood just like [into] a big ocean, [an] old ocean. And [I] start diving for my brain [in]to this very old, old ocean. It's the style of butō. No, it's the style of mine. [I dive] to [the] nose, throat, organs... And how can I make it [to dive] deep? Where is deepest one? Where is deepest one? And my plan or so... I am diving into myself from my inside or by [my] synapse[s], and looking for which part is most oldest? Or... [it] means [looking for] my oldest part I feel is most useful in dancing. If I start from my oldest part I can use all of me. What is [the] limit or detail of me? My skin? No. [It] doesn't matter. What is my detail? A shape? So, I can see photograph or picture. But my reality says: 'No, it's not your detail.'⁴²

Integrating C.G. Jung's idea of a collective unconscious, Yamaguchi Kenji's access to this realm becomes apparent. Within his unity of bodymind, he 'dives down into his blood and organs like a small submarine' to search for a "very

40. 1991:188, Transl.: Barrett.

41. Comp. to C.G. Jung's reflection: "One does not become enlightened by imagining figures of light, but by making the darkness conscious." (CW [Collected Works] 13, § 355, pp. 265f.

42. Dialogue, July 23, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. Additions in brackets M.W.

old, old ocean", arriving at the insight: "*If I start from my oldest part I can use all of me.*" C.G. Jung defines the collective unconscious as "psychic life of our ancestors right back to the earliest beginnings" and "matrix of all conscious psychic occurrences".⁴³ In this sense, I interpret Yamaguchi Kenji's reflection about the 'oldest part' in him. With Jungian psychology in mind, it is the realm of the collective unconscious that provides an entrance toward the full potential: "*I can use all of me.*" Therein, the dimensions of personal⁴⁴ and collective unconsciousness are accessible. A discussion of C.G. Jung's psychology and Ohno Yoshito's butō would exceed the scope of this essay by far,⁴⁵ therefore, these interpretive thoughts shall point at the words of Ohno Kazuo: "*One must first reach the very depth of the human soul*". Here, a butō dancer is about to realize the full potential of one's entire conscious and unconscious identity as profoundly as possible.

Yet, it lies within this process of circle one ("*the essence of art is to find who you are*"), dancers enter circle two in gestalt of an existential understanding of *I* that is its negation ("*if you look for 'I am', 'I', 'I', 'I', it's not good*"). With this in mind, Yamaguchi Kenji talks about skin and figure as non-border of the body and the indeterminacy of subjective identity through objective analysis ("*photograph or picture*"). Hence, he puts forward the question as to what specifically defines his person. Where is the border of his person? Is it his face, his figure? He answers with 'No'. Looking at himself in a photograph, again, he says: "*No, it's not your detail.*" The subject says to itself, it is no subject, realizing just in this way itself or its *Self* that is simultaneously the *Self* of all subjects. Viewed from a position of dialectic thinking, this appears as paradox: Saying 'I am not me' ("*no, it's not your detail*") means to realize the authentic 'I am me' ("*I can use all of me*"). This points to the very *I* that is regained as *Self* in the universe. Herein, the third circle appears: a negation of the *I* is the realization of one-(as)-*Self* - as the entire universe. ("*You need to look at your self. Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me.*")

Seen in this light, the dimension of the collective unconscious - referred to by Yamaguchi Kenji as 'oldest part' - is a *departure* for his dancing. Butō's 'journey' however, leads into the dimension of non-consciousness. As

43. CW 8, § 230, p. 112.

44. According to C.G. Jung's theory, it consists of contents that have become unconscious due to different reasons. They may have sunk into oblivion for they "lost their intensity and were forgotten", due to repression, or because of contents of low intensity that did not "reach consciousness but have somehow entered the psyche" (Jung CW 8, § 321, pp. 151f.). Therefore, contrary to the collective unconscious, contents of the personal consciousness are gained during one's individual time of life (comp. Jung CW 9/II, § 13, p. 8).

45. In this connection, a consideration can be found in Weiss 2011:156-200.

Yamaguchi Kenji puts it, the collective unconscious rather forms a region of bodymind from where he 'starts' to unfold his entire potential: "*If I start from my oldest part I can use all of me.*" It is a 'journey' toward a realization of *mushin*. In this sense, Yamaguchi Kanji speaks of three developments. Firstly, an integration of the unconsciousness ("*special balance of my conscious[ness] with my unconscious building suddenly*"), secondly, a transformation of I-consciousness ("*I start to stop my self wishes*"), and, thirdly, a development toward non-consciousness ("*it is not choreography, not making*"). Therefore, entering the dimension of the collective unconscious is not the 'arrival' of *butō*'s 'journey', from there, a voyage has begun: into non-consciousness.

With this in mind, let us investigate the relation of the Zen phrase *non-consciousness*, deployed in *butō*, with the psychological term *unconsciousness*. The Buddhist philosopher Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (1870-1966) says the "Unconsciousness cannot not go deep enough to include the question of no-mind-ness."⁴⁶ Including the arts into his contemplation, he comes to the following conclusion: "When this unconscious sincerely and genuinely identifies itself with the Cosmic Unconscious, the artist's creations are genuine."⁴⁷ The 'Cosmic Unconsciousness' is a synonym for emptiness or the *Self* that is realized through non-consciousness. So, the dimension of the unconsciousness is acknowledged by Suzuki Daisetsu⁴⁸ yet, at the same time he states, only its identification with the 'Cosmic Unconsciousness' would lead to an artist's authenticity. In connecting these words of Zen with the experience of *butō*, a bridge is to be found in Miguel Angel Granileo's previous reflection: "*The universe world is big, very big [...] No limit. And this universe and your universe have everything. [...] I think, one contact with this universe, if you can [have] one little contact, your movement change[s], your vision change[s].*" Therein lies *butō*'s genuineness. Relating both of these considerations, Miguel Angel Granileo's "*one contact [of a person in its (un)conscious entirety] with this universe*" corresponds to Suzuki Daisetsu's "*unconscious sincerely and genuinely identifies itself with the Cosmic Unconscious*". If this is accomplished, Suzuki Daisetsu summarizes, "an abode that is no-abode is found, and the mind

46. 1969:144. Therein, Suzuki Daisetz refers to the unconsciousness as understood in psychoanalysis. Despite a mixture with the theory of the (personal and collective) unconscious by C.G. Jung, I think this comparison is justifiable for one particular reason: In a discussion between C.G. Jung and Hisamatsu Shin'ichi 久松真一 (1889-1980), a religious philosopher and Zen practitioner as Suzuki Daisetsu himself, in the year 1958 in Küssnacht, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi also spoke about a transcendence of the collective unconsciousness (its transcript can be found in Polly Young-Eisendrach & Muramoto Shōji 村本昭司 2003:109-121, see especially pp. 116f.).

47. 1963b:13. Accentuation as in orig.

48. In a publication on *mushin*, he depicts structures of human experience in a diagram, integrating "Psychological states of unconsciousness" (1969:143 [Diagram 2], 145 [Diagram 3]).

is altogether detached from form, which also means detachment from the mind itself; and this is a state of *wu-nien*, 'no-thought-ness'.⁴⁹ The term *wu-nien* 無念, deriving from Chinese *ch'an* 禪-Buddhism, literally means 'no-thought'. As such, it is synonymous with *wu-shin* (jap. *mushin*), the non-consciousness.⁵⁰ In this sense, Ohno Yoshito too says about his *butō*: "In improvisation we have an empty mind. From an empty mind improvisation is born."⁵¹ Contained in his words of an "*empty mind*", is the definition of non-consciousness as given by Suzuku Daisetz: The 'empty mind' of a *butō* dancer shall be free from any (egocentric) form to find a stay (the dancing form in the present) that is not-staying (the dancing formlessness through egolessness, that is a divestment from an egocentric mind). If that were to be realized, the dancers mind is 'empty' for it is free from the idea of an *I* that perceives itself as absolutely independent and permanent.

Therefore, Ohno Yoshito tells the dancers "don't think"⁵² and underlines: "In the studio - no thinking at all."⁵³ If a person realizes such a state of 'no-thought', s/he unfolds egolessness. The term 'thinking', as deployed by Ohno Yoshito, refers to the dualistic activity of a judging, differentiating and comparing *I*-consciousness - be it between person and person (e.g.: friend/enemy) or person and 'non-person' (e.g.: human/nature). 'No-thought', however, is not based on any position of an absolute *I*. Therefore, Ohno Yoshito closes off 'no-thought' from 'thought' as an activity of *I*-consciousness. Such encouragement for the dancers to "*no thinking at all*" intends a transformation toward egoless thinking. Therein, the realization of non-consciousness unfolds. As previously stated, the confined subjective identity of *I* changes into an opened subjective-universal identity of Self. Here, *butō*'s 'journey' may become the aforementioned phenomenal occurrence to let phenomena occur, from moment to moment. This is why Ohno Yoshito highlights: "A performance only comes to life when dance is spontaneous - our physical responses need to be spur-of-the-moment and not simply mechanical reactions to preset arrangements. [...] [W]e have to create the dance within ourselves."⁵⁴ With this in mind, let us pay attention to part of a comprehensive reflection by Spanish *butō* dancer Joan Soler who tells about his process:

49. Suzuki 1969:102. Accentuation as in orig.

50. Comp. *ibid.*: 29.

51. Dialogue, September 1, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. I: Okamoto Emi.

52. Workshop, July 10, 2004, Kamihoshikawa. I: Itō Sayuri 伊東小百合.

53. Rehearsal for 'The Precious Person', June 24, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

54. 2004:131.

When I came here [to the studio in Kamihoshikawa] and I start[ed] working with Kazuo Ohno's classes, and Yoshito Ohno's of course, I felt like an isolation, being in a cave. And I took advantage of that in order to go through my whole life. I was processing my whole life from my... to know who I am, to know what happened with me, to know my character [...] [...] The next step into my process was after that kind of isolation and going all the way back to my relationships, feelings, emotions, and all my development, my growth. I start[ed] trying to construct something and when I had that, I wanted to share that. [...] It was like my baby and [it] is not something mental and not something physical; [it] is maybe [that] the union start[ed], that something you feel like [being] pregnant and something is growing inside yourself. [...] I used to work very much with my dreams, and the question of being, of hav[ing] that baby in Spain was part of my analysis of dreams and I worked with my dreams and I had to do [it] there. And when I did that and went there just for Christmas vacation and then I came up here [nach Japan], then it was something like..... I was maybe like mothers when they have their baby. [...] I was feeling like, in Japanese it's called, 'mushin' - the emptiness of the heart.⁵⁵

After his return to Japan, Joan Soler experienced a significant event while walking home at night:

I was very tired and I was like [Joan Soler mimics an exhausted facial expression] and it was one o'clock and I was like [he sighs deeply] and then [...] I saw the moon. It was like [a] very special moon. Half was in black and half was in white. And some cloud and then I felt [he exclaims in amazement], I felt one answer was: 'Maybe that's the half of my truth.' I felt the half black and the half white.

He then underwent an inner transformation, describing it in the following way:

I accept [what] I have but I don't need it. I don't need. If everything is okay, if everything comes..... [it] is like a gift, is like [that] and I accept. [...] Then few weeks or few months later, in a rehearsal, Kazuo

55. *Kokoro* also can be translated as 'heart', 'mind', 'consciousness', 'soul' or 'sense'. According to the given context, in Zen it means either the mind of a person with respect to all her/his potential or the non-dualistic reality of emptiness realized through a person's mind. (Comp. [The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen] 1991, s.v. 'kokoro'.)

Ohno and Yoshito Ohno asked me to dance with them on stage. And then I said: 'What I'm supposed to do?' And they said: 'Don't worry, take out your costume and no rehearsal, nothing; we are going to Italy.' No rehearsal, nothing. Then that was like the next step in my life. We went to Italy.⁵⁶

Founded on his introspective period and transformative integration of unconscious contents toward "*feeling like [...] 'mushin'*", Joan Soler came across a turning point in gestalt of seeing a half-moon at night. Interpreting it as a symbol for his inner development toward *realizing mushin*, he gained an existential insight into the core of dualistic dynamics, namely, the division between subject ("*half black*") and object ("*half white*"). Prepared by initial processes ("*the union start[ed]*"; "*[being] pregnant*"), he describes this experience as facilitation to understand the moon as „*half of my truth*", a moon that is a whole (as symbol for non-dualism) of which only half could be seen at that time (as symbol for the dualistic mind). On his quest for non-duality, he encountered a fundamental approval of impermanence: "*I accept [what] I have but I don't need it. I don't need. If everything is okay, if everything comes..... [it] is like a gift, is like [that] and I accept.*" At this point, let us remember words of Miguel Angel Granileo: "*I think one contact with this universe, if you can [have] one little contact, your movement change[s], your vision change[s].*" Seeing the moon, as symbolically portrayed by Joan Soler,⁵⁷ contains such an existential transformation of a bodymind, it is such a "*contact*": a grateful acceptance of impermanence as a non-dualistic acceptance of what there is, here and now, as it is, thus acknowledged by two *butō* masters at his side.

Identity in Non-Consciousness – Uniquely-Subjective and Similarly-Universal

This essay began with three questions. Based on Ohno Yoshito's reflection "*don't have any consciousness*", the following thoughts arose: *Who am I - without being conscious, without a consciousness? Am I (still) me, is there a 'me'? What then moves (me), who then moves (me)?* In light of what has been said, let us review the first question. It became evident, 'having no consciousness'

56. Dialogue, August 11, 1999. Kamihoshikawa. Additions in brackets M.W.

57. The moon constitutes a frequent reference point toward a realization of non-duality in Ohno Yoshito's *butō* transmission that traces back to Zen where it is frequently used in this way.

is a metaphorical term to express a state of being without absolute *I*-consciousness. So, who am I without it - according to butō's perspective?

Against the background of this question, I want to summarize the developmental dynamic outlined so far. The elementary intent of Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission consists in realizing the conscious and unconscious potential of the *entire person* through an unity of dance-and-(daily)-life. As he accompanies dancers toward their non-dualistic identities, knowing one's personality shall lead - according to butō's meaning - to its realization both in the gestalt of unique subjectivity and equal universality with all phenomena. Therefore, Ohno Yoshito says to the dancers: "I am entirety and me.' [...] 'I dance in entirety.' If you do it on your own, it won't be in entirety. So, be you in entirety."⁵⁸ Realizing one's entirety as transformational voyage from *I* to *Self*, is to understand personal identity at the same time as uniquely-subjective and similarly-universal - without any contradiction. That is to say, whereas the *I* acts within dualistic points of views, separating between person and person or person and 'non-person', the non-dualistic *Self* transcends these *points* of views and therefore is able to *see*: two phenomena are simultaneously *one* (similarly-universal) and *two* (uniquely-subjective). This touches the core of the moon's experience as described by Joan Soler.

The following contemplation of Ohno Yoshito about a scenario of war with respect to two phenomena - flowers and humans - discloses that further: "It is not only human beings that are killed. Flowers are also killed in the war. And the idea is so simple. Human beings are only thinking about human beings."⁵⁹ If a person - according to this understanding at least - leaves the viewpoints of *I* that separate subject from object and recognizes the flower *as Self* or *as herself* or *himself*, the insight into an empathic identity unfolds that is both subjective-personal and universal-transpersonal. Ohno Yoshito underlines: "The flower is not something separated from us. It is ourselves, it is myself."⁶⁰ In his reflection a 'primary subject position' of homo sapiens is deserted, and in place of this anthropocentric world of subjects and objects appears an interwoven network of mutually requiring subjects with equal rights. Seen in this light, integrating the unconsciousness is essential for the development of butō dancers. Yet, referring to the ritual dynamic of Ohno Yoshito's butō transmission, it is the identification with emptiness or *Self* that leads to a realization of non-consciousness.

58. Workshop, September 12, 2009. Kamihoshikawa. I: Adachi Kazumi 安達和美.

59. Dialogue, August 4, 2004. Kamihoshikawa. I: Hashimoto Keiko.

60. Ibid.

At this point, we can ask the - slightly adjusted - question one again: *Who am I without I-consciousness?*, to be followed by the other remaining questions: *Am I (still) me, is there a 'me'? What then moves (me), who then moves (me)?* Butō dancer Tokumitsu Kayoko said: “[As] a part of butō we need to throw away [the] ego. [...] But after [that] we can find our personality.” Not only shall dancers of butō transform their ego as a consciousness that perceives itself as independent, autonomous and permanent, they shall give it up, entirely. Yet, dancers of butō do not get lost on such a path, though it is an existential process. Instead, they find themselves as *Self* which is a universal *Self* of all phenomena. Therein, the dynamic insight into non-consciousness unfolds wherein all phenomena are experienced simultaneously as uniquely-subjective and similarly-universal because of their emptiness. According to this view, all exists because all else exists.

This is why Miguel Angel Granileo emphasizes: “*I think one contact with this universe, if you can [have] one little contact, your movement change[s], your vision change[s].*” Such a process enters the state of non-consciousness as referred to by Ohno Yoshito: “*Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me.*” A butō dancer without *I-consciousness* simultaneously is uniquely-subjective (“*I am*”) and similarly-universal (“*I am the sun*”; “*the moon comes into me*”). In other words: Without sun, the butō dancer could not exist; without the moon who stabilizes the earth’s axis, the earth and the butō dancer could not exist; yet, the sun too could not exist without the butō dancer for the plain reason that - according to cosmology - its origins trace back around 13 billion years to the formation of the Milky Way, meaning in conclusion that every atom of a future *homo sapiens* to come derives from this process. Therefore, they all mutually condition each other.

So, the answer to all three questions simply reads: “*Now I am the sun but gradually the moon comes into me.*” Therefore, butō dancers without *I-consciousness* are existentially transformed through and inspired by realizing a non-consciousness in which they are as much themselves as anything else without contradiction; therefore, butō dancers are not only moved by sun and moon but through all phenomena as they become aware to exist because all else exists. Thus, Ohno Yoshito tells them: “*‘I am entirety and me.’ [...] ‘I dance in entirety.’ If you do it on your own, it won’t be in entirety. So, be you in entirety.*” And, inspired by year-long butō practice within these dimensions, dancer and music therapist Endo Juni 遠藤順子, in reviewing her development, answers:

And, yes, I see now - like the earth [...] or flowers or grass [...] or, like shadow and light [...] or maybe a bit like insects sing, wiööö, wiööö,

silently or loudly - , it all together - that is, humans or stones or animals - , is part of it. This is my understanding of life. [...] Sometime [...] you simply find yourself: 'Ah, I am also a part of the universe.'⁶¹

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SHAMANISM – A MAGICAL OR DEEP ECOLOGICAL HEALING CONSCIOUSNESS?

Renaud van Quekelberghe

The (Post-)Colonial Modern Mind and the “Magical Mind Model” of Shamanism

The colonial Eurocentrism concerning rationality or causality and based on an erroneous and superficial Darwinian conception belongs to an atavistic and narcissistic mind modality. Thinking of oneself as at the top of the pyramid of a social-cultural evolution of ca. 40 thousand years (*homo sapiens sapiens*) gives us a narcissistic kick of pride and superiority. Our understanding of causality or rationality seems to be better than in the last century and certainly far better the more we move or in our hubris language “we regress” to earlier centuries. Seventy years ago we could read in German schoolbooks on biology that the German race was at the very top of the natural evolution in the whole universe!

The shamanic mind (meditation, yoga or non-dual mindfulness all included) considers quite on the contrary the primordial time as a golden age: the oneness of all events or entities and within them their causality or rationality was at that time far more pure, clear and subtle.

Can the arise of the so-called “scientific mind” really be explained by a simple linear evolution within a few decades or centuries? “*La vraie raison, die wissenschaftliche Vernunft, the scientific mind*” allegedly has come up in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which have then been called the *age of enlightenment*. Scientists like Newton, Diderot, d’Alembert, Euler, Laplace, Kant, and Fourier seemed to implement the *causal mind, die Reine Vernunft, la raison pure* in London, Paris, Berlin, Petersburg, and Königsberg.

If we now step back at least seven thousand years we spontaneously assume that the scientific and technological mind modality is either not existent or only at a very embryonic stage. We simply project a kind of kindergarten child mentality into the Paleo-, Meso-, or Neolithic era. Therefore, we instinctively postulate a primitive mind close to the so-called "wild animal", a barbarous, illiterate, illogical, irrational, magical mind model.

However, between 35.000 and seven thousand years from now such a presumed infantile or magical mind was able to conduct difficult skull trepanations, to develop a high quality flint industry and to enjoy a fascinating cave-cinematography. Trepanation has been known in many parts of the ancient world and is still practiced in a few traditional communities in Africa, Melanesia and Polynesia. The most ancient evidence was reported only recently. The seven thousand year-old skull from Ensisheim (France, Walker 1997) shows two healed perforations of up to 9 cm in diameter. Interestingly, the artificial openings are closely related to skull trauma testifying to their importance as a therapeutic measure (Verano, 1997).

The Neolithic flint mines at Spiennes (Southern Belgium) are the largest and earliest concentration of ancient times in the world. They are extremely remarkable for the diversity of technical solutions concerning the extraction and elaboration techniques, allowing very regular blades and axes and also for the trans-European marketing. To me they are very similar to the coal mining industry in the same region two or three hundred years ago.

Discovered in 1994, the Chauvet cave (Ardèche, France) with more than five hundred parietal paintings testifies an artistic *savoir-faire* we can only admire. These highly talented Paleolithic artists - around 34.000 years from now- have mastered complex movement perspectives, diverse coloring techniques, contour and smudging techniques, reinforcing the perception of the 3rd dimension by incising or etching the outlines of figures, allowing torch light to cast shadows around the edges. They also used similar animation techniques that cartoonists do today. Azéma (2011) describes how Paleolithic people created the sensation of movement in the animals they draw both by superimposing multiple numbers of legs, heads and other body parts and by orienting groups of animals in dynamic ways that suggest motion, which is similar to what animations do today.

Today, in any field of Mesolithic or Neolithic human consciousness, i.e. military, medical, artistic, economical, religious etc., we cannot claim a social-cultural evolution based on a lawful linear transformation going from infantile and illogical through magic to pre-rational and formal-logic stages until the enlightenment age in analogy to the now more and more criticized Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget (1896-1980). He namely described the

individual development as the progressive transition from an illogical baby through a magic stage to a pre-rational and finally a formal-logic level around twelve years old.

The (post-)colonial modern mind still reflects Genesis 1, Verse 28: "Be fruitful and multiply; fill the earth and subdue it; have dominion on the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over every living thing that moves on the earth."

The Deep Ecological View of Shamanic Consciousness

From a so called "deep ecological point of view" as Arne Naess coined the term "deep ecology" in 1973, we can even interpret some basic structures of the archaic mode of consciousness as deeper rational than our modern industrial rationality. According to Naess, a deep ecological view puts into question the dominion of one living species above all others. His bio-centric equality thesis refuses the anthropocentric hypothesis giving the right to one species to subdue other species. Furthermore, deep ecology is contrary to all forms of hierarchical or colonizing dominions, for example men subduing women, rich people subduing poor people, writing cultures dominating or even exterminating oral cultures, modern cultures subduing shamanic cultures. As far as our modern scientific mind promotes an anthropocentric subduing mind, I call it "the Babylonian Consciousness", we will not sustain a fair survival balance between human mind and nature.

The shamanic or archaic mind is close to a deep ecological view in the sense of Arne Naess. Its basic axiom - in contrast to the "Babylonian Consciousness" modality - simply claims that we essentially belong to the surrounding nature and that we have no right at all to consider our rational or scientific mind as an exclusive individual or species "imperial property", just as promulgated for the first time by the Code Hammurabi. The Roman property laws of the *Romana Lex* are still worldwide at home, for the banks in central Manhattan as for my life insurance or my private car.

Shamanic consciousness in medicine or any other topic does not see the world or any part of it as *my property*, but topologically speaking as a simply connected hologram: one water, one wind, one earth, one consciousness. We belong to this hologram. This hologram belongs to nobody at all.

According to general topology, there is no place in a simply connected manifold for disjunct sets such as modern rationality (for example modern medicine) disconnected from an archaic medicine (for example shamanic healing). A deep ecological view acknowledges the fact that a single tree is never equal to a cubic meter of stacked wood with a daily market value but

is a living spirit in a living forest spirit with myriads of other co-living species spirits.

A shaman asking the hologram-one spirit, the so called "Great Spirit" underlying the uncountable small living spirits for permission to kill this tree is definitely not acting as an infantile, barbarous, illogical and irrational magic man but as a deep rational, responsible living being, making himself conscious of his belonging to the one world-spirit hologram. For him, his killing action is simply connected with our universe, with the Great Spirit or Reason or Logos of all living beings, already died, now living or still to come. The question is if such a deep ecological holographic rationality is less rational than the scientific rationality of Diderot, Kant or Laplace?

Shamanic Healing Consciousness and the "Hologram Oneness" of Non-Dual Mindfulness

A serious health problem always implies the entanglement of multiple levels of treatment, even non-local quantum information field dimensions that we until now describe along old disjunct Cartesian categories, a kind of pre-hologram or pre-quantum information field model. Contrasting with the usual linear rationality model in modern medicine and psychotherapy, shamanic healing practices and more generally shamanic healing consciousness is always holistic, topologically simply connected, and therefore highly multidimensional and mostly non-linear.

Cartesian dissociating mental operations between an individual mind and its organs, between an individual and its groups, between individual body and individual mind, between emotions and cognitions, mind and behavior, between a healer and a patient mind, between healing processes by certain plants, certain therapeutic songs, or certain altered states of consciousness and last not least between individual, group and universal mind or spirit, such Cartesian dissociating mind operations have but a very little place within the ancestral shamanic healing consciousness.

To summarize it: in contrast to our modern medicine or psychotherapy, shamanic healing is *principally holistic, non-linear, extremely multimodal and deeply integrative or integral up to the oneness of the one hologram*, the one quantum information vacuum field, one informing living spirit.

Shamanic healing tries to entangle such Cartesian levels as:

- pharmacology (e.g., medicinal plant- living spirits, hallucinogenic spirits)
- physiology (e.g., massage, breathing procedures, rhythmic movements)
- mental individuality (e.g. induction of diverse states of consciousness such as trance, possession, dream, broad inclusion of ecstatic intensive emotions

- like flooding, catharsis, regression, transgression of behavioral and/or emotional barriers/taboos)
- mental collectivity (e.g., inclusion of family and/or clan rituals, of the so called "collective unconscious" in form of ancestral healing mythologies and rituals
 - esthetic performance. Any shamanic treatment has to be "colorful, harmonious and pleasant to all senses!" In millions of modern medical or psychotherapeutic documents, you will not find a single report on the efficient "esthetical factor" as a central aspect of healing or healing consciousness. (This esthetical dimension is not even mentioned as a placebo factor.)
 - "Great spirit oneness" (quantum information one-field). Last not least, we must mention this "Cartesian level" at work in any shamanic healing treatment, at any time and any place. Each medical action or interaction is to be conducted as simply connected, i.e. within the universal hologram, the so-called "great spirit" in all.

The non-dual mindfulness should reflect the hologram oneness which is always boundless (indefinite or transfinite), full, formless (so called emptiness of everything), pure, peaceful, changeless, and as to the mind always "mindful".

Dreamtime Characteristics of the Shamanic Healing Consciousness

Archaic mind or shamanic consciousness has been described by the *terminus technicus* "dreamtime". The culture anthropologists Baldwin Spencer and Francis James Gillen introduced this expression at the beginning of the twentieth century (1904) as a central concept for Australian Aborigines. Voigt & Drury (1998) remark that the expression "dreamtime" is not best chosen. For example, the word "*alcheringa*" used by Aranda people (Central Australia) means something like "seeing with the eyes of eternity". The Pitjantjatjara (Northwest Australia) use the word "*tjukurrpa*" meaning "real power time".

For Australian Aborigines, "dreamtime" is not a magic stuff, but the one, boundless, timeless reality existing in or rather pervading any perceived event. Similar to the quantum vacuum field, a basic entanglement principle, a sort of generalized uncertainty principle (Heisenberg) determines and sustains any possible event. Most characteristics of "dreamtime" focus on oneness, entanglement, pure possibility and holography everywhere and at any time. The following characteristics of the shamanic mentality or consciousness are to be found worldwide, from the Neolithic era up to now.

- *Dreamtime is affiliative, familial, kinship-based.* All events or entities belong to one "great spirit" or one conscious power. As many shamans and some modern quantum physicists such as David Bohm (1917-1992) claimed it again and again: the universe -every content in it- is a hologram, an unfolding and enfolding "holomovement". A growing number of quantum and astrophysicists is now considering the hologram construct as a kind of basic "holographic principle".
- *Dreamtime is energetically and informatively present in every event or entity.* Shamanic healing rituals try to bring patients and healers to the implicate powerful order of the one, undivided reality, namely dreamtime. Only through the contact with the "great power time" we can have access to the healing energy of our locally and temporally perceived disorder.
- *Dreamtime is seen as the source of all information and energies.* For example: early Taoist texts as the "Blue Dragon/White Tiger" (Saso, 1990) describe the Chi-energy as the breathing of the primal unity. The quantum coherence, the superimposition or non-local entanglement of our energies with the only one Chi is the only source of any efficient holistic healing.
- *Dreamtime as a boundless one flowing of forms (events) transforming themselves in endless forms or event identities.* As to shamanic dreamtime, Parmenides (all is one) and Heraklit (all is flowing) are one and the same, i.e. every event is the holistic expression of a flowing oneness. Dreamtime is implicated oneness apparently flowing in endless forms, a kind of David Bohm's *holomovement*.

The song of Taliesin and the Navaho-Blessingway are two pregnant examples for this important shamanic characteristic (also for meditative and yogic non-dual mindfulness), namely the flowing of oneness, of one form or information through endless forms or information. For example: a short quotation from "The Battle of the Trees. The Book of Taliesin, VIII":

"I have been in a multitude of shapes,
 Before I assumed a consistent form.
 I have been a sword, narrow, variegated,
 I will believe when it is apparent.
 I have been a tear in the air,
 I have been the dullest of stars,
 I have been a word among letters,
 I have been a book in the origin.
 I have been the light of lanterns,
 A year and a half.

I have been a continuing bridge,
 Over three score Abers.
 I have been a course, I have been an eagle.
 I have been a coracle in the seas:
 I have been compliant in the banquet,
 I have been a drop in a shower;
 I have been a sword in the grasp of the hand,
 I have been a shield in battle.
 I have been a string in a harp,
 Disguised for nine years.
 In water, in foam,
 I have been sponge in the fire,
 I have been wood in the covert."

Also, a short quotation from the Diné or Navaho Blessing Chantway, a well known therapeutic song out of two hundred Navaho healing Chantways:

"Hai-ya naiya yana
 The feet of the earth became my feet,
 With them I will walk all my life.
 The legs of the earth are now my legs,
 With them I will walk all my life.
 I feel the body of the earth as my body,
 With this body I will live forever.
 The voice of the earth is becoming my voice,
 With this voice I will speak and sing forever.
 The spirit of the earth is now my own spirit,
 With this spirit (in mind) I will live a long life!
 Yo! I have come upon it! I have come upon blessing, bikeh hószhó!
 People, my relatives, yo a lana, I have come upon blessing,
 People, my relatives, yo! Blessed, na éye lava hiya éye holaghei!"

The shamanic healer tries to reintegrate the sick human or animal being into the great holomovement of one life (one wind, one water, one earth). In sharp contrast to this healing consciousness, modern medicine or psychotherapy conceptualizes the individual as a powerless, completely limited, separated or even dissociated entity from the clan experience of the overwhelming streaming of life energy from time immemorial to time immemorial. Such a dissociated or isolated "individual identity" seems to be an easy prey for chronic stress, anxiety, despair, loneliness and depression.

Dreamtime: circular and periodic:

- For shamanic healing, life is principally embedded in circular and periodic structures. Their dwellings, sacred and therapeutic places are mostly circular: teepees, hogans, kiwas.
- Sun, moon and star cycles give a sound basis for any healing plan or action. The time and space structuring of healing interventions is duly regulated by multiple circular periodicities. An important healing ceremony never takes place at a neutral point of our linear time line. They are special time-space windows for special healing rituals of special diseases. Complex non-linear periodicities at some concordance points of sun, moon, planet and star cycles implicate a subtle cosmic or universe-bound rationality that the archeoastronomy has put to evidence over the last three decades.
- The Sothis Old Egyptian calendar is a remarkable scientific advance, combining the cycles of moon, sun and the star Sirius along a self-correcting system, far more precise and ingenuous than our Julian-Gregorian sun calendar with its clumsy leap years.

Dreamtime: tricky-trickery:

- The trickster (Cocopelli, Thoth, Mercure, Bamapama -Arnhem land -, Eshu - Yoruba, West-Africa) is always complementary to the periodic, cyclical structure. From time to time, the well-ordered circular structures need a lively quantum leap, a non-periodical mutation. The trickster breaks laws and taboos, for example Cocopelli – the Indian well known coyote trickster – introduced the death into the life game.
- The shaman as a trickster is also a “joke-maker”, is a kind of therapeutic joker, transgressing for a short while our conventional or highly ritualized world. Joke, humor, tricks belong just as aesthetics to any healing procedure within shamanic healing.
- The shamanic rationality does not try to eradicate the unforeseen chaotic trickster from our reason but to integrate it as a very important dimension, always belonging to the “one spirit-holomovement”. In mathematics, the trickster introduces the irrational and complex numbers, the square root of minus one. In medicine, the shamanic trickster will for example introduce counter-rational strategies such as taking the poison to fight the poison as in case of Pasteur’s vaccination.

The Revival of Shamanic Healing Consciousness Within Modern Medicine and Psychotherapy

Within modern medicine and psychotherapy, we now observe some trends towards a more integral, multimodal, holistic and non-linear approach. Integrating Asian traditions such as acupuncture, Ayurveda, Tai Chi, Buddhist mindfulness meditation, Hatha Yoga into the panoply of our modern treatment models has strongly increased in the last decade. The "shamanic bricoleur" as well as the Swabian "Tueftler" are now overcoming the Prussian or Cartesian rationality.

In our present world the need for a more holistic complex approach of rationality, the need for a more integral medicine and psychotherapy, this need is now becoming perceptible at every intervention level. Mindfulness meditation, yogic or Buddhist concentration methods, shamanic healing rituals re-focus our individual, separated mind on the experience of a changeless, pure, complete and boundless inner peace, which is the endless source of harmonious, stress- and conflict-free energy. This yogic, meditative, or shamanic mindful experience is opening a deep third dimension within our healing consciousness as indicated by the Necker Cube in figure 1.

- The wise experiences "one, boundless, changeless, perfect" (front level) and "many, bounded, changeable, imperfect" (back level).
- The semi-wise experiences the back level only vaguely: "one, boundless, changeless, perfect".
- The fool experiences only one level: "many, bounded, changeable, imperfect".

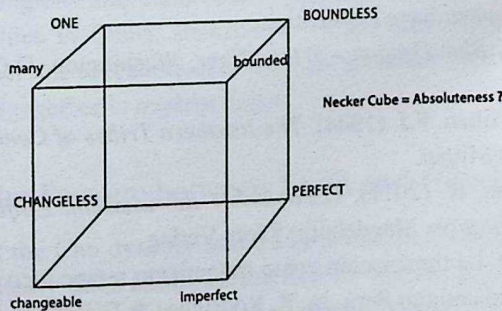


Fig. 1: Necker Cube

The shamanic or meditative healing consciousness is not at all magic. Quite on the contrary, it tries to deepen our narrow and organ-centered medicine and psychotherapy in the direction of our unlimited body and consciousness,

brahman equals *atman*, one in all, all in “one holomovement” (cf. van Quekelberghe, 2011). In most Asian traditions, the individual human mind is always considered as a *perception organ* such as nose, ears or eyes, nothing more.

Shamans, Taoists, Buddhists or Yogis are not only eager to develop and intertwine diverse healing techniques for very different mind levels. They always strive to the most subtle and universal medicine and psychotherapy as the basic medicine of all medicines, namely to heal – once for all times! – our main endemic disease, I mean the continuous dying of our individual body and mind organs.

In addition to single healing techniques we desperately need to deeply experience the stillness, peacefulness, completeness of any life, at any time and everywhere, the boundless oneness of the one hologram, one wind, one water, one earth, one spirit. For shamans, meditating people, or yogis, this hologram or holomovement medicine can alone overcome our daily dying, the death or life illness invented by the coyote trickster Cocopelli.

As long as we do not experience this deep ecological treatment by the means of shamanic, meditative or yogic mindfulness practices, we will probably assess this stuff as pure magic and esoteric. In other words, we will stay fixed in a superficial rationality and causality, missing the deep ecological or “one quantum holomovement” within all body and mind organs.

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SHAMANISM IN ANCIENT CHINA: LEGENDARY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Naran Bilik

Based on the account of "The Blockage of Passage between Earth and Heaven" in classical literature of China, the author tries to reconstruct the ideological basis that connects North and South China. According to Chinese classics, at the beginning every ancient could reach Heaven from Earth, that means, everyone was a kind of Shaman who could go to Heaven wherever and whenever he or she wanted. But the legendary King Zhuanxu asked his ministers Zhong and Li to block such connections, and he appointed five officials to be in charge respectively of Heaven, Earth, the gods, the folk, and the material things. From then on, folks and gods were put into different categories and were governed by different functionaries. Shamans became "specialists" who played a role in both a divided or a unified China. In view of plurality of religions and cultures and urgency for unity on the part of the mainstream elites in China, shamanistic culture can provide a "symbolic" capital in the service of rebuilding a common "grammar" that binds all citizens and ethnicities together in modern times.

Blocking the Passage between Earth and Heaven

King Zhao of the Chu dynasty asked Minister Guan She Fu: "the Book of the Zhou Dynasty talks about Zhong and Li who stopped heavenly gods and earthly folks from having direct contact with each other, why is that? If they did not stop them, does it mean that folks on Earth could travel to Heaven?" Minister Guan She Fu answered:

The Book of the Zhou Dynasty does not mean this. In ancient times ministers in charge of folk affairs did not mix with those in charge of

sacred affairs. Amongst the human beings those who were smart and dedicated would always treat gods with piety and awe; with their wisdom they put heavenly gods and earthly folks in their right positions; their morality could shine afar over Earth; their vision could reach Heaven and Earth; their hearing could capture everything. People like them could have gods descend onto their bodies, and the men were known as *Xi*, and the women known as *Wu*. They were charged with the responsibility of working out the residential plan of gods, the placing of sacrificial offerings, and the hierarchy of seniority; they were responsible for stipulate the color and size of sacrificial animals, the material quality, the color of sacrificial utensils, and the sacrificial costumes for each of the four seasons...

When it came to the late period of Shao Gao, Jiu Li from the south turned turmoil into ethical governance, and ministers in charge of folks and those in charge of gods got mixed up without distinction. Everyone could hold sacrificial rituals and every family could appoint their own shaman at the cost of piety and awe. Folks did not have enough offerings for the gods, and the gods could not therefore bless them. The offering of sacrifice was chaotic; men and gods became equal. People did not honor their promise for the gods and did not hold them in awe. The gods became accustomed to the way offerings were made by the folks, and they were not serious about purity. Without godly blessings crops grew badly, and folks did not have plenty of grains as offerings to gods. Calamities and misfortunes occurred frequently; both gods and people lost vitality. Having come to the throne Zhuan Xu ordered Minister Zhong who was in the standing of *yang* to take full charge of all sacrificial offerings to gods, and Minister Li who was in the standing of *yin* to take full charge of governance of earthly people. All was put back into order as before, and the mutual interference between gods and people was terminated. And this is what the discourse of the Blockage of Passage between Earth and Heaven meant by the Book of the Zhou Dynasty. (Zuo Qiuming 1995: 637-638).¹

1. The story of the Blockage between Earth and Heaven reminds us of the building of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues (languages) in ancient Babylon mentioned in Genesis Chapters 10 and 11. Interestingly, ancients in China were successful, if for a limited period time, in connecting Earth and Heaven while the Babylonians were not.

The account of the Blockage of Passage between Earth and Heaven is about the origin of such ministerial positions as *Zhuzong* and *Bushi*; it involves the mechanism of evolvement of religion. In early times, shamans had been in charge of religious matters; and later, however, this "connecting" power was transferred to the "heavenly ministers" while the "earthly ministers" were in charge of matters other than spiritual affairs. The "heavenly ministers", known as *Zhuzong* and *Bushi* who took over the role that used to be played by shamans, were responsible for communicating with Heaven and evoking gods; the "earthly ministers", that is, *Situ*, *Sima*, *Sigong*, and so on, were in charge of the general population and earthly matters. Based on the classical records, the emergence of *Zhuzong* and *Bushi* has greatly weakened the power of shamans; shamans, however, would not give up without a fight. They were defeated eventually in official sectors. Officials in charge of recording history were eager to promote the division of official functioning between the "heavenly ministers" and the "earthly ministers", and they argued against the blending of earthly matters with those of Heaven, and against equality between gods and people. Li Ling, a professor based in Peking University in Beijing correctly pointed out that the legend of "the Blockage between Earth and Heaven" indexes the "Division between Heaven and the Human" rather than the "Union of Heaven and the Human" as taken for granted in the Chinese discourse of traditional thinking.² While Kwang-chi Chang (1931-2001) held the view that China belongs to the Shamanistic Civilization, Li Ling thinks that such claim is slightly exaggerated and that Chang's view should be firmed up by adding the two elements of "rituality" and "the arts of divination and alchemy" (known in Chinese as *Fangshu*) before it can be attested by history. The author of this paper does not intend to join the discussion; but he is inspired by their broad vision of Chinese history and would like to bring such vision into the scholarly efforts to reposition China with a focus on finding ideological commonality shared by various groups in China; he tries to prove that cultural diversity at present does not necessarily contradict ideological uniformity which can be traced back in classical times.

The Political Control of Person-to-Person Relationship

In the eye of the Westerners, the ancient tradition of China, which is well-known for philosophical thinking which centres on the union of Heaven, Earth, and the human, and for the idea of dialectic relationship between material appearance, communicative flow, and spiritual essence, is neither religious nor

2. Cf. Li Ling's lecture of March 2, 2000, in Beijing Normal University.

"scientific" (Li 2000a: 2). However, in Chinese traditional thinking, material appearance, energy, and spirit are related by mutual promotion, and symbiosis is the rule. Li Ling quotes Kwang-chi Chang's notion of "Shamanistic Civilization" as a starting point for further discussion of the story of the Blockage of Passage between Earth and Heaven, and of the dichotomy of official functions divided between the earthly ministers and the heavenly ministers (Li 2000a: 11-12). Those heavenly ministers who were ritual specialists and diviners took charge of communicating with Heaven and invoking gods; they concentrated attention to human-heaven communications and changes of the world; and they were not responsible for administrative management. In contrast, the earthly ministers only took care of people and land, and they did not talk about matters that concerned gods and the nature of the world (Li 2000a: 11-12). The bureaucratic system depends on the synesthetic sensing of the materiality of Earth and Heaven, and thus shaping a cross-referential indexical complex that engaged Heaven, Earth, human, and gods. As Li Ling said that ancient China did not have so-called heaven-human relationship; and instead it had person-to-person relationship only. Such person-to-person relationship has enjoyed a political life until the recent past. For instance, the slogan of "the republic of five peoples" (*Wuzu Gonghe*), which was used by the revolutionaries after the 1911 revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, embodied such political priority in their dealing with minority and religious issues; the phenomenon of one state with many religions and of one person following different religions is indexical to this tradition (Li 2000b: 13). The replacement of heaven-human relationship with that of person-to-person led to the replacement of emotional attachment and idealism with practicality, and to the replacement of religion with rituality and arts of divination and alchemy.

It can be said that Fei Hsiao-tung's idea of "the unity and plurality of the Chinese nation"³ inherited such traditional ideology that centres on harmonious relationship between human beings; so did his Confucian quotes "each praises one's own beauty, but also does other's, let all beauty coexist, and there will be harmony under heaven." However, it is important to know that Fei Xiaotong has also posed the question in his later years: "Having gotten rich, what is the human up to next?" He proposed a future world where arts rule. This can serve as a metaphor of the transition from political governance of person-to-person relationship to governance by arts, which will help cultivate harmony between

3. Fei Xiaotong (Fei Hsiao-tung) (1988). Plurality and Unity in the Configuration of the Chinese People. Paper prepared for the Tanner Lecture delivered at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 15 and 17 November.

particularism and universalism. It may serve as a metaphor for return to Heaven-human relationship where everyone is free to negotiate with gods and make his or her own decisions. The shamanic world is a universe of arts.

Shamanist Synesthetic Embodiment

In ancient times shamans performed rituals to evoke spirits and chanted prayers to bring harm to enemies; the shaman dancer materialized a visual experience while the shaman singer created an auditory experience. Shamanism brought visual culture and auditory culture together. Analogically, ancients in China preferred the union of the playing of stringed instrument, the playing of chess, calligraphy, and painting; such union is the essence of arts. So is the practice of the Confucian scholars who mastered six kinds of arts, which included rites, music, archery, chariot driving, calligraphy, and mathematics. All these practices highlight an emphasis on the strong union of material appearance, communicative flow, and spiritual essence. Such union contrasts sharply with the dualistic thinking of Lessing, Burke, and others, who connect painting and beauty with femininity, and poetry and sublimity with masculinity:

Painting	Poetry
Space	Time
Natural signs	Arbitrary (man-made) signs
Narrow sphere	Infinite range
Imitation	Expression
Body	Mind
External	Internal
Silent	Eloquent
Beauty	Sublimity
Eye	Ear
Feminine	Masculine

(Mitchell 1986: 110-111)

Openly or hinted at, writers such as Wilhelm von Humboldt, Marcel Granet, J. E. Renan, and Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel put the Chinese language on the side of painting, space, natural signs, narrow sphere, imitation, body, external silent, beauty, eye, and feminine, and commented that the Chinese language lacks organic and perfect structure and it "excluded all philosophy, all science, all religion"; the nature of the Chinese writing "is a great hindrance for the development of the sciences", and "the Chinese have no better instrument for

the articulation and communication of thoughts" (Needham 1998: 24-25). However, such Western audio-centric view would immediately lose its interpretive power when it confronts the ideological union of material appearance, communicative flow, and spiritual essence, a great source of wisdom in ancient China.

The same union is also embodied in shamanism as well. The shaman is the medium between Heaven and Earth; he or she carries out the multiple tasks of practicing sacrificial rites, curing diseases, divination, and calculation. The shaman is the senior adviser for the tribal chief. In traditional daily life of northern peoples in China, shaman's activities of performing sacrificial rites, practicing divination, curing diseases, and so forth interweave with calendric calculation, medicine, forecasting, and writing (Guo 2001: 3). Shamanism is embedded in every aspect of daily life, connecting material body and psychological consciousness. Through performances shamans link together various spatial divisions amongst which there are sacred space, social space, and natural space. Shamanic performances control iconic-indexical happenings as well as iconic-indexical things, leading to possession, and therefore opening up all communications. This way, interparticipation of Heaven, Earth, and humans is realized while animism unfolds a universe of symbiosis. According to the sacred geography of shamanism, the cosmos is divided into three worlds: the upper is Heaven, the middle is the world, and the lower is the netherworld. Shamans in Northeast Asia believe that the upper world of gods is a domed place, which is larger than the middle world and has a hole in the middle leading to the next level; the middle world sits in water and is carried on the back of a large animal, which can be a turtle, a fish, an ox, or a mammoth, and is surrounded by a broad belt (Guo 2001: 21-22). A heavenly pillar connects the Earth and the upper world which can be further divided into three, seven, nine, or seventeen levels (Guo 2001: 22). Shamans do not resort to eloquence and sermons to "move the world"; they rely on performatives and performance to achieve the goal of communication. For connecting Heaven, Earth, humans, and gods, possession is indispensable while possession, in its turn, needs paraphernalia, settings, and bodily performance. Shamans come from real life and keep a close contact with the grassroots society where they can draw inspiration and energy, and therefore can avoid the death of "symbolic exchange" in the sense of Jean Baudrillard (1993). In a shamanic society, structure and agent maintain a healthy mutually reproducing relationship where Peircean symbiosis of Thirdness dominates.⁴ Shamanism is therefore a versatile

4. To reduce Charles Peirce's semiotics, for the sake of simplification without gravely violating his original idea, to that of iconicity (relationship of resemblance such as that between a photograph

art that keeps the body, materiality, communicative flow, and spirits well connected.

Politics Governed by Spiritual Rhythm

"Harmony between Human Beings" is after all an ideal type. In real life that is full of conflicts and contradictions, Person-to-person relationship needs the semiotic⁵ power drawn from Heaven-human relationship for support. Such semiotic power can be used to deal with problems such as inequality and to naturalize or rationalize them. With regard to Heaven-human relationship, Heaven indexes universalism that guarantees the existence of a uniformed, consistent "cultural grammar", and helps avoid symbolic confusion due to too much complexity in materiality in this earthly world.

The body and materiality perceptible in shamanic performances participate in the negotiating process between iconicity, indexicality, and symbolism. Though such negotiation is not a guarantee for future, it takes care of the present. Ever since the "Blockage of Passage between Humans and Gods", as it were, folks do not communicate directly with gods; instead, they only look after themselves in earthly life which is ruled by practicality. They are not responsible for gods and sometimes even curse the latter when misfortunes descend; they prefer iconicity and indexicality to symbolism while symbolism has to rely on the other two for symbiotic meaning and for its own very existence. Human relationship first of all is political relationship that is typically embodied in person-to-person relationship. Through the use of the body and materiality and through synesthetic stimulation as a result of their performance, shamans can also achieve the goal of political management of human relationship. The pragmatic use of iconicity-materiality is resilient and changeable. For instance, when performing divination the ritual specialist has to consider the availability of local materials that can be used for such a purpose: in Chinese case, they can use either the scapular of an ox or a piece of turtle shell. However, any kinds of material use has to obey a consistent "law" in the same way a chess play is carried out as in the Saussurean analogy: the material that is used for making chess pieces can be wood, ivory, or other

and the person taken photograph of), indexicality (relationship of contiguity such as that between a bullet hole and the bullet that went through it), and symbolism (relationship of convention such as that between the signifier and the signifier in language system), we may say that shamanism works to maintain the symbiotic relationship between iconicity, indexicality, and symbolism while capitalism as described by Jean Baudrillard destroyed such symbiosis and let capitalist symbolism (semiotics in Baudrillard's terminology) take absolute control.

5. In the Peircean sense of the word.

things, but the difference in material use does not bring changes to the rule of the game: chess remains as chess.

If pieces made of ivory are substituted for pieces made of wood, the change makes no difference to the system. But if the number of pieces is diminished or increased, that is a change that profoundly affects the "grammar" of the game. (de Saussure 1983: 23).

In a similar vein, during the Shang dynasty of ancient China, before political divinatory activities took place, ox scapulae and turtle plastrons should be prepared, half and half of each.

Ox scapulae and turtle plastrons were in very short supply; it might explain why their value has increased as a vehicle for connecting Heaven and Earth. Before put to use, the scapulae and turtle plastrons were carefully treated, cut and scraped to get a smooth and flat surface, or even had them soaked and wind-dried. They were finalized with drills and chisels. When divination is being practiced, fire was applied to the pit of the bone, and fine cracks like gossamer would appear. The interpretation of the cracks was regarded as the answer to queries posed by ancestors. Shang Kings sometimes would ask diviners questions in person; but usually he asked questions via the medium known as *zhenren*. The signs of cracks were interpreted by the diviner (*zhanren*) whose role could be replaced by a divinatory official; but Shang Kings often played such a role. (Zhang 1999: 39).

Oratory bones are burnt and cracks appear. The relationship between the cracks and the prognostication is that between iconicity and indexicality, similar to onomatopoeia. According to the study by Kwang-chi Chang (Zhang Guangzhi), from human-animal designs of the ancient Aztec people to those that appear on the bronze articles unearthed in China, all signify the relationship between humans and their other "half", that is, animals. In Chinese case, the view of interpreting the human figures on the bronze articles as shamans and animal figures as their assistants agrees with that of interpreting the designs as "my other half" (Zhang 1999: 60). Such iconic-indexical relationship can be interpreted as an imitation of the relationships between humans and materials, and between materials, so that such relationships can be reproduced and maintained. According to Frazer's *Golden Bough*:

Thus among the Bataks of Sumatra a barren woman, who would become a mother, will make a wooden image of a child and hold it in

her lap, believing that this will lead to the fulfilment of her wish. In the Babar Archipelago, when a woman desires to have a child, she invites a man who is himself the father of a large family to pray on her behalf to Upulero, the spirit of the sun. A doll is made of red cotton, which the woman clasps in her arms, as if she would suckle it. Then the father of many children takes a fowl and holds it by the legs to the woman's head, saying, "O Upulero, make use of the fowl; let fall, let descend a child, I beseech you, I entreat you, let a child fall and descend into my hands and on my lap." Then he asks the woman, "Has the child come?" and she answers, "Yes, it is sucking already." After that the man holds the fowl on the husband's head, and mumbles some form of words. Lastly, the bird is killed and laid, together with some betel, on the domestic place of sacrifice. When the ceremony is over, word goes about in the village that the woman has been brought to bed, and her friends come and congratulate her. (Frazer 2001: 46).

The bronze artifacts from China not only embody a wealth of iconic-indexical meanings but also represent the "quality" of materials and their ownership or right of use. For example, animal figures from different places were painted on the nine tripod cauldrons, the symbol of the state; the cauldrons also contained metallic materials from different local states. That means, the Zhou Kings had ownership and right of use over the metallic resources in all local states; they also took control of mediums that could be used for connecting Heaven and Earth by the local states (Zhang 1999: 80).

The shamanic paraphernalia, the bronze artifacts from China, and the materiality of witchcraft described by Sir James Frazer in *Golden Bough* are full of particularities, all have relevance with particular time and space, and mainly express the iconic-indexical relationship; they are, however, unified by the goal of "connecting to gods", and possess therefore performative "rhythm", that is, the artistic control over the relationship between time, space, and movement. It is similar to art of composition in Chinese calligraphy where materiality will eventually join mentality. Spiritual mentality is vital. Fei Xiaotong described art as "rhythm" which also exists in life, in respiration, in personhood, in rituality, and so forth. Rhythm creates beauty and beauty connects to spirit. They jointly produce "spiritual rhythm", serving as the basis for drawing materiality toward mentality. Politics is a means of dealing with particular things, full of changeability, and often it sacrifices principles. This kind of short-term efficiency will result in long-term problems; short-term political control will eventually give in to long-term aesthetic ideal, that is,

politics should be governed by spiritual rhythm. This way, plurality can bring harmony in a symbiotic relationship. No doubt, human relationship that includes ethnic relationship has to be governed politically, and so does linguistic and cultural diversity, so that linguistic and cultural conflicts can be moderated or even avoided. Having said that, however, since political control tends to function impromptu, it needs the support of spiritual rhythm for sustainability, and should follow the "universal grammar" to stay the course.

Shamanic Civilization and the Symbiotic Origin of China: Reconnecting Heaven and Earth

China has a history of everyone-shaman according to legend. Whether it is true or not is beside the point; it can serve as a metaphor that helps us cope with human relationship. If we follow this line of thinking, everyone-shaman can be an ideal form of democracy in early times, and can be compared with primitive democracy in ancient Greece. Early Greek democracy has developed into its modern form in the West while China's early everyone-shaman type of democracy came to a premature end due to the metaphoric disconnection between Earth and Heaven. Both China and the West may share the same experience or aspiration of connection between Earth and Heaven, and both worshipped gods. However, ancient China gave up worship of gods and turned to rituality and arts of divination and alchemy though shamanism has survived and is still surviving at the grassroots level of society. In the West, modern democracy has been developed after the industrial revolution, not without shedding blood and sacrificing life. China has been confronting the challenge of disorder; one generation after another, the elites tried hard to restore or rebuild the state of rituality so that people could claim back "old tradition", wishful thinking or not. Based on his research Kwang-chi Chang believed that though China was a premature civilization, it had taken a righteous path; in contrast, the western civilization headed towards an unusual direction, which should be regarded as an exception. We may put aside Chang's view as a personal opinion, but it contains two important messages. First, it helps us surpass the divide between nomadism and agriculturalism when China was dealt with; it refuses to limit the core of Chinese civilization to the hinterland; it does not limit the origin of contemporary ideologies to within the Great Wall of China. As we know, China has other origins of civilization such as the Hongshan Culture in the north and the Liangzhu Culture in the south. Recognizing the plurality of origins of civilization will promote awareness of different "races" and diversified cultures, and will promote the building of a symbiotic China. Second, since China had a legendary history of "Connection

between Earth and Heaven", since it has the legendary (or maybe imagined) history of "everyone-shaman", people living on this land should be able to relocate the ideological foundation of shamanism in the new social and cultural configuration. They should be able to surmount the boundary of ethnic groups or cultural communities; and they should be able to live in a country with an overlapping spiritual commonality. People will therefore be able to recognize and affirm the fact of multiple cultures in a common homeland without pressing for unconditional assimilation.

Reconnecting Earth and Heaven and returning to the world of "everyone-shaman", this is not only a metaphor of our time, but is also a new attempt for developing harmony among citizens, and a new vision of symbiosis between ethnic groups.

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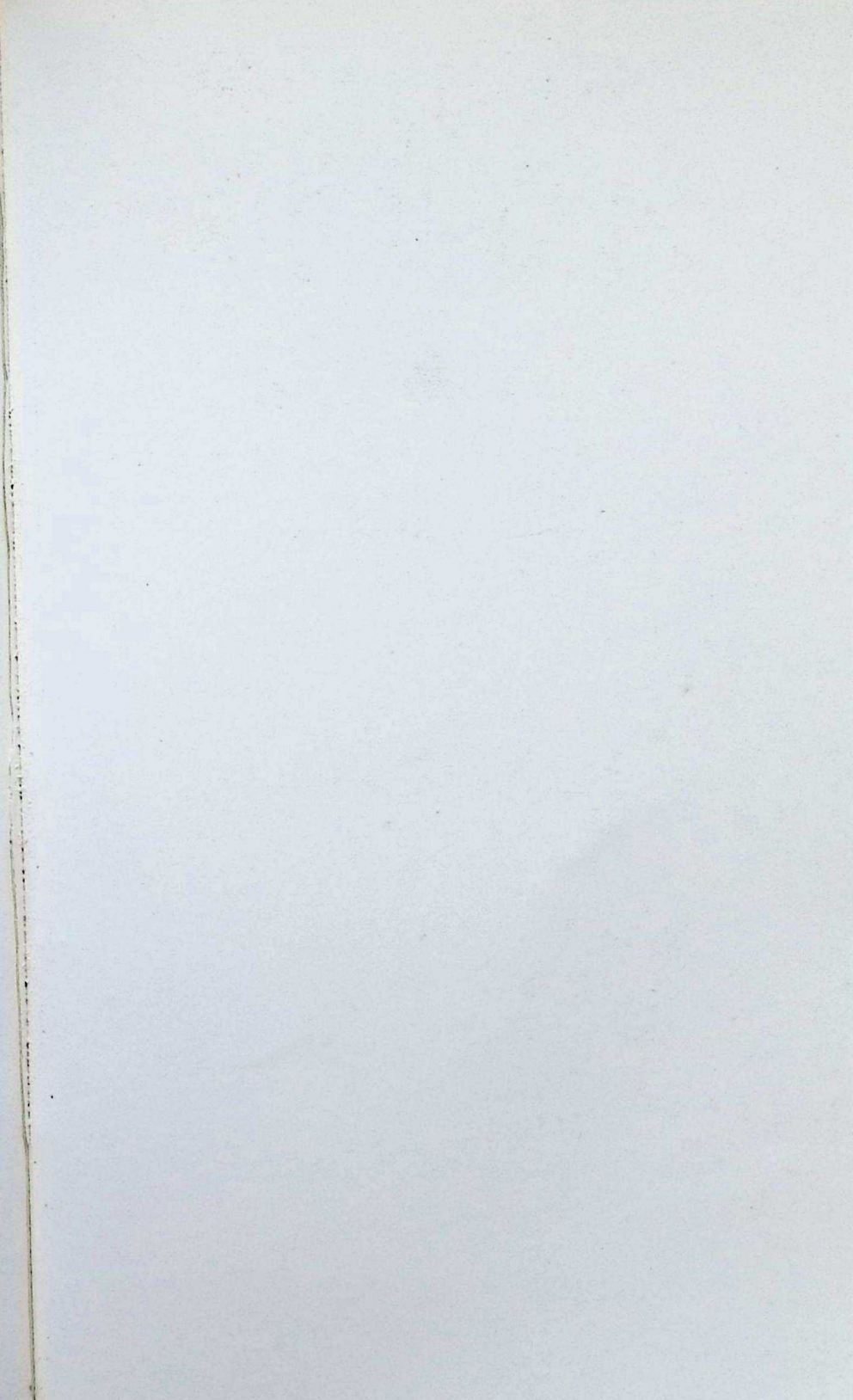
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Transformation of Consciousness is an exploration of various approaches to impact our consciousness. The book points to potentials we as species may need for our future survival.

Shamanic approaches are frequently viewed as premodern and thus mere historical remnants. The implication is that they are fascinating to help explain our past evolutionary history, but have little relevance for our future. When we disregard the significance of these ancient shamanic and Eastern paradigms, we disregard possible avenues to shift our thinking and our cultural practices for the benefit of our future survival.

Each author in this anthology discusses exit strategies out of the hall of mirrors that our contemporary world has created, each contribution validates the importance of ancient traditions today, and the need for a more appropriate epistemology to describe consciousness processes.

Transformations of consciousness are needed not only to serve individual needs, but also to serve our general human need to know, understand, and make meaning. These transformations also support socio-cultural practices that are holistic, integrative, and balancing for individuals and communities.



VAJRA
BOOKS

